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UNITED STATES DISTRICT EASTERN DISTRICT OF NE	EW YORK
UNITED STATES OF AMERI	16-CR-614 (AMD)
Plaintiff,	United States Courthouse Brooklyn, New York
-against-	March 8, 2019
DAN ZHONG,	9:30 a.m.
Defendant.	x
BEFORE 1	F OF CRIMINAL CAUSE FOR TRIAL THE HONORABLE ANNE DONNELLY
UNITE	ED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE BEFORE A JURY
APPEARANCES	
For the Government:	
	Eastern District of New York 271 Cadman Plaza East
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	Assistant United States Attorneys
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	New York, New York 10036-8299 BY: ROBERT J. CLEARY, ESQ.
	DIETRICH L. SNELL, ESQ. SAMANTHA SPRINGER, ESQ.
	BRITTANY BENAVIDEZ, ESQ.
Also Present:	HEATHER BUTLER, PARALEGAL S.A. RYAN CAMPBELL
Court Reporter:	LINDA D. DANELCZYK, RPR, CSR, CCR Phone: 718-613-2330
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But what was not addressed in the ruling last week was the qualification of this particular individual to testify as an expert.

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THE COURT: Didn't he have -- didn't you have a CV

I'm just trying to make sure I understand what you're objecting. You're objecting to this guy as an

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1 expertise -- as an expert?

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MR. SNELL: Yes.

THE COURT: I don't know if we need a hearing for that. If his qualifications aren't established in front of the jury, then I won't find him an expert and the party is over.

MR. SNELL: Judge, in the process of -- I don't know what the government's Q and A is going to be for the qualifying testimony. But my position is that just the questions and the answers he will give are sufficiently prejudicial and that this should be done outside the presence of the jury. I think that that's contemplated by the rule.

THE COURT: I mean -- having had the experience in front of the jury of having a judge say your expert wasn't an expert, I mean, it's prejudicial all right, but it's not to you.

So if the person were to testify and I were to say, no, he's not an expert. I mean, I'm going to go out on a limb here and say that the side that would be bad for would be the government and not you.

So I don't really see how that's particularly inflammatory. I guess for me, again being the person who knows the least about what the person is going to say, I mean I have a general idea, I just think this kind of a classic cross-examine the person or do a *voir dire* of him, and if he

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I can tell you about his qualifications in a moment, but I'm also happy to supply you with the list of his opinions that we provided them.

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currently -- and I'm reading from the CV here -- the Yale
University fellow in modern slavery. He also did some work
for the Open Society Foundation and for an independent
consulting practice that he owns on forced labor practices.

Prior to that, most significantly, he was the ambassador-at-large to monitor in combat trafficking in persons, and senior adviser to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on issues of forced labor practices and human trafficking.

In that role, he helped edit and prepare what is known as the Trafficking in Persons report. This is a report prepared every year since I believe 2001 that is effectively a summary of two things.

One, the first half of it, which is essentially a text on factors and issues that would go towards forced labor practices and human trafficking practices.

The second half of it is an international survey of the issues on an issue-by-issue basis related to forced labor, effectively country reports.

THE COURT: To what extent do the things that he does relate to these particular topics, it's just doing it?

I mean, it's unsurprising to me that these would be the topics, but the question about the types of -- I mean, the types of people who might be targeted or who might -- that the characteristics of people who become victims.

PROCEEDINGS 596 1 What's his -- I think that's -- I'm going to suggest 2 that might be what your problem is, right? 3 That's part of it, yes. MR. SNELL: 4 THE COURT: All right. 5 MR. HEEREN: Sorry, Your Honor. 6 THE COURT: No, no, no. That's all right. 7 So a lot of times, for example, in sex abuse cases, 8 you'll have somebody talk about why victims don't report or 9 something like that. This is in the nature of that kind of 10 testimonv. 11 So what -- I get the -- what qualifications do we 12 have to talk about those things? 1.3 MR. HEEREN: Yes, Your Honor. 14 In addition to his expertise on the issues relating 15 to the victims, in China specifically, and more broadly in the 16 United States and internationally, which he has through the 17 work in the Department of State, he was also a member of 18 Department of Justice, their civil rights division. He was --19 I believe his last role was as the chief counsel to the human 20 trafficking prosecution unit. 21 I forget the exact number, but he said something in 22

I forget the exact number, but he said something in the order of hundreds of victims that he's dealt with. And so he has experience both with hundreds of victims as well as a myriad variety of practical experiences with forced labor schemes and organizers.

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1 THE COURT: Okay. What's your objection to him? 2 MR. SNELL: Our objection is that the man is 3 essentially an advocate, not an expert to testify in a federal criminal trial. He has never been qualified to testify in any 4 5 court proceeding, as far as the government tells me. If he 6 were, we would have a transcript that we could look at. 7 THE COURT: Well, everybody's got to start 8 somewhere, right? 9 MR. SNELL: True enough. 10 I don't think that the starting point should be 11 Mr. Zhong's trial in this case. These are extremely broad and 12 inflammatory subjects, and I don't want to revisit that, but 1.3 given the sensitivity of this -- I mean, some of these other 14 subjects go straight to the facts of this case. Some victims 15 are treated better than others as a deliberate method of 16 controlling the overall scheme. 17 We heard about that in the testimony already. 18 THE COURT: Well, that's kind of a classic feature 19 of experts in this area. So if you have, you know, a child 20 abuse case, you have people talking about grooming, experts 21 talking about grooming, because grooming might be a feature of 22 the particular of the fact pattern. So that itself is not 23 unusual. 24 I mean, I think it would be an objection if it 25 weren't relevant to the fact pattern. So I mean, experts

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typically come in to talk about -- I mean particular types of facts that are present in the kind of case. I'm not quite sure why that's an objection.

MR. SNELL: Well, it's coupled with the fact that I see no evidence that Mr. DeBaca has ever done any kind of clinical analysis. It's one thing to be a prosecutor and deal with victims day in and day out, or sometimes people who turn out not to be victims but claim they are. It's another thing to be a clinician or an academic.

He has no degree in psychology, that I'm aware of. Has never studied the victimology; has no background of the sort that the Rule 702 and *Daubert* contemplate. That's essentially our argument in a nutshell.

And I believe that on cross-examination in the qualification stage, we will be able to demonstrate, very convincingly, that his testimony has no place in this trial.

THE COURT: Anything else you want to say?

MR. HEEREN: Not unless you want me to be heard, Your Honor.

THE COURT: No, I think these questions about qualifications and the person's ability to speak about certain subject is really a classic area for cross-examination.

First in the area of a voir dire. If a voir dire establishes that he is not sufficiently qualified to be an expert, then he won't be qualified as an expert.

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Of course, I give jurors instructions about how they are to evaluate expert testimony. I will certainly give that instruction. One of those instructions is that they don't have to accept the testimony of the person who's being proffered as an expert, that they can reject it if they don't find it persuasive. So I give kind of a small instruction about that before the witness -- if I qualify the witness as an expert -and I'll give a more expanded version in my final charge. Of course, your objection to this will be preserved. But if there's any language that you want me to include in that sort of instruction that I give, assuming that I find that the person is qualified, I'll certainly -- if you want to take a few minutes to suggest something additional to the usual expert testimony instruction, I'll certainly do that. But I think for purpose of -- this is really classic cross-examination, so I'm going to deny your objection. I'll give you a few minutes, if you want, if there's something additional that you want me to say. Just as a preview, what I usually say is, you know, a person is permitted to testify as an expert if he or she has knowledge in a particular field that most of us don't possess. I tell them that I'll give them further instructions

inclusively should come into evidence.

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THE COURT: Okay. Anything else generally that

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- 1 | worked on those issues.
- 2 Q And forgive me if you said this, but were you an adviser
- 3 to anybody in that position?
- 4 A Yes. As ambassador, I was also the senior adviser to the
- 5 Secretary of State, both Hillary Rodham Clinton and
- 6 subsequently John Kerry.
- 7 Q Do you have prior experience before that involving forced
- 8 labor practices and prevention issues?
- 9 A I do. I was senior counsel on the Judiciary Committees
- 10 of the House of Representatives where my portfolio involved,
- 11 in addition to some other issues of national security and
- 12 civil rights, involved sex trafficking and forced labor.
- 13 Q Okay. And prior to that, did you have any experience
- 14 or -- experiences related to forced labor practices and
- 15 prevention?
- 16 A Yes, I was the chief counsel of the United States Human
- 17 Trafficking Prosecutions Unit, and before that was the
- 18 Involuntary Servitude and Slavery coordinator in the criminal
- 19 section of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice
- 20 Department.
- 21 Q I just want to be a little more precise and clear here.
- When I say "forced labor practices and prevention,"
- 23 what sort of experience, if any, did you have that included
- 24 experiences dealing with victims and different types of
- 25 victims involved in those issues of forced labor and human

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1 trafficking?

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A Specifically, in my time in the Civil Rights Division, I investigated and prosecuted cases of forced labor and sex

4 trafficking, which we tend to use, in relative terms, of

either forced labor, human trafficking, or in the 1990s

6 involuntary servitude and slavery.

In that role, not only did I supervise others in their cases, but also did a lot of the hands-on work; interviewing witnesses myself, leading investigations, working with psychologists to bring people out of that situation, in cases involving somewhere around 600 victims, and almost a hundred defendants.

Q Do you also have experience -- do you have specific experience with the analysis of factors or issues relevant to forced labor practices?

And when I say, just to be clear for the record, do you understand when I say "force labor practices," I mean including issues relating to the victims of forced labor as well?

A Yes.

Q And -- sorry, let me reask that first question then.

Do you have experience with the analysis of factors relevant to forced labor practices?

A I do. In my role as ambassador, one of the things that we -- that my office did, and one of the things I was

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1 responsible for, was funding research into exactly that;

2 | whether it was the psychological response of people to having

3 been held in such a situation, whether it was what best

4 practices would be from governments in identifying people who

have been in that situation, and then what to do with them

6 thereafter.

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But also being able to then transmit that out and work with the business community so that they could recognize the signs and they could make sure that this didn't happen within their own supply chains.

So both with funding, with working through these things at the United Nations, with business groups and others to try to really bore down into the experiences of people who have gone through this.

- Q What about any -- have you had any involvement in the preparation or publication of materials associated with the analysis of forced labor practices?
- 18 A Yes, I have.
- 19 Q And can you -- is there any in particular that you have a 20 fair bit of experience dealing with?
- A So each year the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking
  In Persons at the State Department puts together what's called
  a trafficking persons report. And if I forget myself, I will
  call it the TIP report, which is what it is called for short.

THE COURT: What do you call it?

practices. It identifies what are the things that we were seeing across the different countries. What are the commonalities of whether it's in victim identification, whether it's in challenges to victim care, whether it's in gaps in coverage around the world.

And each of those concepts were then tended to be published in every year's TIP report in the introductory parts, which is the analytical framework. In many ways it's a textbook for that year on what were the issues that were being seen. What were the emerging issues. Maybe countries that haven't been thought of as having a trafficking problem, or sectors in the economy that hadn't been thought of or hadn't been recognized as much as others have.

So each year that analytical framework as well as the diplomatic and the country snapshot is something that I was responsible for.

Q And so I want to focus your attention now on the part you referred to as the country snapshot.

It sounds from your testimony like there was a review of different countries around the world in the Trafficking in Persons report?

A Yes, there is.

(Continued on next page.)

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1 DIRECT EXAMINATION (Continued)

2 BY MR. HEEREN:

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Q Did that include research and review on China?

4 A It did. Since the coverage of the report over the years

throughout, especially after some changes to the law in 2008,

and so different countries have been on the report for longer

7 I than others, specifically, countries that were known to have a

8 trafficking problem at the beginning of the reporting

9 requirement in 2001. And China has been in the report since

10 that initial report.

The report itself brings in information from our embassy staff, from China watchers, from nongovernmental organizations, from other Governments, from the Chinese Government itself, the information that it provides. And each year it ends up being a very in-depth snapshot as to what's happening.

Around these minimum standards that I had mentioned, but especially around this concept of prevention, protection and prosecution. What is a country doing on those items? And so that was the lens through which we looked at China each year.

Q And what sort of -- what sort of role or how detailed was your involvement in the preparation of the Trafficking In Persons report, both the analysis section you described and the country reports, specifically China?

DeBACA - DIRECT - MR. HEEREN

A Well, there's a team in the human trafficking office that is the report's team that also does a lot of the hands-on diplomacy and they have information fed up to them through our embassy staff. In China, there are not just the embassy in Beijing, but there are consulates around the country as well, information from other Government agencies as well as I mentioned non-Governmental organizations, international organizations, and the Chinese Government.

Each country narrative then is written along those analytical lines of the minimum standards assessing prevention, protection and prosecution. A baseline between our officer and the lead officer in the embassy in the country in question then is established as to how the country is doing. A numeric rank is given. It's Tiers 1, 2, Tier 2 Watchlist and Tier 3. So it's a three-tier system with four tiers on it, which is typical for the Government.

Tier 2 Watchlist is the kind of literally what it says, it's watch out. You might be a Tier 2 country, but you're very close to being on the bottom of the rankings. And those rankings are very much looking to see what is the Government doing.

So each year then, at that point, the discussion has been largely at the staff level. A draft is proposed. Over the course of 190 or so countries, all of the countries in the world at this point, with some exceptions for war torn

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1 | countries like Somalia or Haiti after the earthquake. That

2 initial draft, then, would come to me and my leadership staff.

3 We would review it so that we knew that it was being done

against those standards and that it was being done uniformly.

In many ways because each of the teams was working on one

6 specific region of the world.

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So I needed to make sure, for quality control, that the African team was using the same analytical approach and the same evidentiary standards as, say, the team that works in the western hemisphere.

The countries that we could agree upon with the counterparts at the embassy, or in the regional bureaus of the State Department which deals kind of the big geopolitical issues, and that is the bulk of the countries. We all could look at that and say, well, that's clearly a Tier 1 country. It's got victim identification standards. It actually arrests people for this crime and sentences at a level commensurate with other serious crimes. It has prevention. We'd all look at that and say, okay, clearly it's a Tier 1 country.

There are other countries, though, that there would be differences of opinion. And so in those countries, and they are often the most strategic countries, or the ones with the most complex human trafficking cases, we would then end up having a further review with me and the relevant assistant secretary from that regional bureau.

And so in kind of the large strategic countries, my involvement would end up being much deeper than in a country that we would come to a very quick decision just by looking at it.

And China was typically one of those countries.

- Q And so would any of these reports, when you were the ambassador and in that position, would any of these reports go out the door without your final review and approval?
- 9 A None.

- Q Do you have any expertise or experience related to the history of forced labor and practices that are precursors to the modern concepts of forced labor?
  - A Well, that's what I'm teaching right now at Yale, the history of the 13th Amendment up to modern slavery and the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which makes chattel slavery illegal in the United States, also then makes what's called in it involuntary servitude, the use of other coercive means, other than big legal chattel slavery of African Americans, to try to continue that type of practice.

So that is kind of the root at what I am researching and teaching, but because the 13th Amendment was actually drawn from language from the Northwest Ordinance, my work on this goes all the way back to the colonial era and the work that Jefferson was doing wrestling with this problem.

Q And I take it in your position as a prosecutor, it sounds

like you dealt with a wide variety of cases as well, and practical experiences?

settings.

A I did. And of course one of the things that I'm doing at Yale and in the class is looking at this kind of interplay between the types of coercion and the forms of coercion that were used say, for instance, after the Civil War during sharecropping days and things like that. And then what's happening in the modern era and of course I draw on my own experiences having investigated cases, having spent time with not this 600 odd victims in the cases that I did, but the defendants and other people who have been involved as well.

Plus, then the work that I've done out in the world with the United Nations and otherwise. So that we're seeing the commonalities across not just the United States perspective, but what is happening in different parts of the world; how does it manifest differently in northern India than it does in Cypress? How does it manifest differently in South Africa than it does in Honduras?

Q And we don't need to get into it in detail, but just generally speaking, it sounds like you have other experiences in which you can testify to related to forced labor practices?

A Yes, I've testified in a number of different settings, not in a criminal trial before, but in a number of different

Q Were those Government proceedings in the U.S. or

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1 otherwise?

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A Yes. In the United States when I was ambassador, I testified regularly before the Congressional committees.

In Congress, it's -- different committees handled this, so Foreign Affairs Committee, obviously, in both the State -- excuse me, both The Senate and The House. But at the same time, the Judiciary Committee in both The Senate and The House.

the Helsinki Commission that and the Human Rights Committee.

Those two special committees often would hold hearings on this. And I testified regularly in those settings before the

There's also a special committee that what's called

13 United States Congress.

- Q Okay. Are you receiving any payment for your time today?
- 15 A I am.
- Q Generally speaking, what are you receiving payment for?
  What types of things?
- A So reviewing documents, rendering an opinion upon what I reviewed, looking to see kind of the parameters of forced
- 20 labor, looking at the situation in China, et cetera.
- Q And just to be clear, though, are you being paid to render a particular or specific opinion?
- 23 A Not at all.
- Q The rates you're charging, based on your experience, are they consistent with the rates charged by others of

Case 1:16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 30 of 166 PageID #: 5425 DeBACA - DIRECT - MR. HEEREN 617 1 commensurate experience in your field? 2 MR. SNELL: Objection. 3 Yes. THE COURT: Overruled. 5 Yes, when I set these rates coming out of the Government at the end of Obama Administration, all of the political 6 7 appointees from one administration to another end up rotating 8 out in the U.S. system. 9 When I set these rates, I very much looked at what 10 other former ambassadors in their consulting practices set 11 their rates at, and also, frankly, looked at what lawyers and 12 big law firms charge. MR. HEEREN: I'm showing you what's marked for 13 identification only as Government's Exhibit 2008. 14 It should 15 show up on your screen and let me... let's focus. 16 Do you see it on your screen, sir? 17 I do. Α 18 I'm just going to briefly kind of scroll down, but are 19 you already familiar with this document? 20 I am. I prepared that document. 21 What is this document? 22 This is my resume. 23 Do you recall how recently updated it's been?

that this is probably from January or so, to remind me that I

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I tend to update it kind of quarterly. So I would think

DeBACA - VOIR DIRE - MR. SNELL

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1 | in this case. And I have a few questions for you just about

- 2 the qualifications that you were just asked about by the
- 3 Government.
- 4 Sir, could you tell us a little bit about your education?
- 5 A Yes. I did my undergraduate work at Iowa State
- 6 University, looking at international agricultural development
- 7 and graduated with a degree in political science.
- 8 From there I went to the University of Michigan law
- 9 school where I graduated with a law degree. And from there
- 10 went into practice.
- 11 Q You have no other graduate degrees, do you?
- 12 A I do not.
- 13 Q You have no degree in psychology?
- 14 A I do not.
- 15 Q No degree in human behavior?
- 16 A No.
- 17 Q Have you ever studied clinical psychology?
- 18 A I have not studied it as a course of study, no.
- 19 Q Do you know the field victimology?
- 20 A I do.
- 21 Q What is victimology?
- 22 A Victimology is a type of psychology that looks at how
- 23 people respond to crimes committed against them, looks --
- draws from sociology, draws from psychology, draws from
- 25 anthropology, and can either be in a very particularized look

DeBACA - VOIR DIRE - MR. SNELL

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1 at a particular victim, or it can look at larger victim

- 2 classes.
- 3 Q You would agree with me, would you not, that victimology
- 4 relies heavily on clinical work?
- 5 A Clinical work moves up into victimology just as it does
- 6 criminology and other parts of the social sciences, yes.
- 7 Q And clinical work is where social sciences typically
- 8 gather data from the field in order to determine whether there
- 9 | are certain conclusions that can be drawn; is that correct?
- 10 A Well, clinical work is typically working with a
- 11 particular patient or a particular person. Whereas data
- 12 gathering, data analysis, survey work, ends up being something
- 13 that gets done in the social sciences. They often will happen
- 14 together, if you're trying to look at something that flows out
- of a particular people's experiences.
- 16 Q You mentioned on your direct testimony something about
- 17 the Trafficking in Persons report; did you not?
- 18 A I did.
- 19 Q And I think you said that that report is an annual,
- 20 potentially an annually-compiled review of the state of
- 21 trafficking within countries around the world?
- 22 A That's correct.
- 23 Q And it receives information from a whole wide range of
- sources, some governmental, some nongovernmental; correct?
- 25 A That's correct.

DeBACA - VOIR DIRE - MR. SNELL

Q And those sources get their information from places that are unknown to you; is that right?

A There are some sources that get their information from places unknown to us. There are other sources who come in with very detailed recitations of where they're looking.

So, for instance, if we were to look at a human rights report, we wouldn't simply take it on faith that a particular human rights organization had done so. We would be looking at who their sources were, what their bibliography was, what kind of field interviews they had actually done, how reputable they are, who the actual reporter was who was out there doing that.

Pretty much the same as what we do if the Government gave us sources. We'd go kick the tires on that and typically would go back and ask the Government for the raw data. So it wasn't simply a diplomat putting -- pardon my French -- spin on the numbers but rather that we can actually see the numbers.

- Q In describing this work that you've just told us about, you used the word we. Who do you mean by we.
- A So what I mean we, I'm talking about my team at the State Department, both the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking and the folks out in the field at the embassies. And of course I'm talking about them in the we, as far as the years that I was the publisher of that particular report.

DeBACA - VOIR DIRE - MR. SNELL 622

- 1 Q You were the publisher; correct?
- 2 A I was the editor, publisher and issuer of that report.
- 3 Q You were not the researcher, were you?
- 4 A No, the researchers are the combination of the field
- 5 workers, the folks at the embassies, and even the information
- 6 that was coming in.
- 7 As ambassador, I was, I guess for lack of a better
- 8 word, at the top of the pyramid aggregating everything that
- 9 was coming in from our folks around the world.
- 10 Q But you, yourself did not have any role in gathering the
- data that was being assembled to form the basis for the
- 12 | conclusions in the report, did you?
- 13 A I was not gathering the data. I was certainly using it.
- 14 Q So you were relying on the work of a lot of other people,
- most of whom you had no idea who they are; is that right?
- 16 A I knew their roles in that I knew that they were
- diplomats and analysts from the State Department and other
- 18 Government agencies.
- 19 Q Now, the trafficking in human person --
- 20 MR. SNELL: I'm sorry -- withdrawn.
- 21 Q The Trafficking in Persons report is essentially a policy
- 22 review; is it not?
- 23 A Yes.
- 24 Q I think you testified it purports to rank countries
- 25 according to certain tiers, four numbers, one with two

DeBACA - VOIR DIRE - MR. SNELL

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1 subdivisions?

- 2 A That's correct.
- 3 Q And the purpose of the report is to inform everyone who
- 4 reads it as to how countries, all countries, stack up in terms
- 5 of the three Ps that you identified; correct?
- 6 A That is one of the purposes. That's an external purpose
- 7 | that you describe. There are internal purposes as well.
- 8 Q And the upshot, it is your hope, is it not, is that
- 9 greater attention will be paid throughout the world to the
- 10 problem of human trafficking; correct?
- 11 A Well, the recommendations that are put into each of the
- 12 country narratives seek to do that and that's specific to the
- 13 countries. Saying, you know, we recommend this for this
- 14 particular country.
- As far as the kind of broader, you know, what is the
- 16 state of the field and would the world end up responding to
- 17 those, that typically was either done in the introduction
- 18 sections, the analytical sections that I described, or in the
- 19 United States multilateral diplomacy at the United Nations at
- 20 other levels.
- 21 As far as the country narratives in the TIP report,
- 22 the hope of the country narratives, and the intent with the
- country narratives, is very much to have that bilateral
- 24 dialogue between the United States and that particular
- 25 country. And it then would inform our diplomacy throughout

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1 the rest of the year as to what were the issues that we would

2 end up raising with them.

So that might be a bit of a nuance in that what you're describing is part of the mission located in maybe a different part of the TIP report.

- Q And how countries come out in this report is very important to those countries; is it not?
- 8 A It is.
- 9 Q It's a matter of international relations; isn't it?
- 10 A It is.
- 11 Q And there's a heavy political component to it; isn't
- 12 there?

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- 13 A I wouldn't say there's a heavy political component.
- 14 There is a geopolitical component to it as far as balancing
- 15 United States interests. But at the same time, being accurate
- and looking to the facts on the ground.
- 17 Q Because in your -- your goal, is it not, is to have
- 18 country measure up to certain standards that the Department of
- 19 State and Congress have decided should be adhered to
- 20 worldwide; isn't that right?
- 21 A Well, so Congress decided that the minimum standards for
- 22 combatting trafficking is what countries should be assessed
- 23 against. The three Ps and the United Nations Palermo
- 24 protocol, which the countries sign up to, is the thing that
- 25 they are to adhere to.

625 1 We certainly feel at the United States Government 2 again, I use we to describe when I was there -- we certainly 3 felt that the minimum standards, when applied, would give countries road maps as to where they were, as far as complying 5 with their responsibilities under the United Nations protocol. You don't think that the concept of forced labor 6 7 worldwide is broadly defined enough, do you? 8 I do. You believe that in every country in the world the 10 concept of forced labor is understood uniformly? 11 I do not. 12 So you think in some countries there should be greater 13 attention paid to this concept of forced labor; correct? 14 Yes. 15 And that's, in fact, the purpose of this ranking system 16 or tier system; correct? 17 It is, I think, an underlying assumption of the ranking 18 The framers of the ranking system in 2000, I think, 19 were looking for a way in which they would be able to assess 20 how these countries were doing, but I don't think it was 21 necessarily about just the definitional issues. 22 If you look at what the minimum standards are, they

are very much about victim care, prevention efforts and prosecution.

Now, you mentioned that you testified in a number of

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- 1 settings. I think you said before Congress, for example?
- 2 A Before Congress here in the United States, before
- 3 Parliament in England and Australia, yes.
- 4 Q None of that testimony had anything to do with forced
- 5 labor of the sort that has been charged in this case; did it?
- 6 A I have to admit, I haven't gone back and reviewed all of
- 7 | the testimony that I've given over the years in Congress. And
- 8 so I can't answer that question.
- 9 Q Have you -- do you have copies of that testimony?
- 10 A There are copies of that testimony online and I
- 11 occasionally would go look at them if I needed to, but I
- 12 haven't reviewed those really since I actually testified.
- 13 Q Did you provide copies of that testimony to the
- 14 Government?
- 15 A The Government has access to that testimony.
- 16 Q That's not my question.
- 17 Did you provide?
- 18 A I didn't -- I did not provide copies myself. I told them
- 19 that it was online on the Congressional websites.
- 20 Q And there's nothing in that testimony that referred to
- 21 collectively that, in your mind, relates specifically to the
- 22 charges in this case; is that right?
- 23 A I recall there being questions that I was asked in
- 24 Congress about China, but as far as the charges in this
- 25 particular case, no, not at all.

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1 Q You were asked about your resume and the description of

- 2 | the various positions that you've held.
- 3 Does the word China appear in your resume?
- A I would have to go back and review it to see.
- 5 MR. SNELL: Your Honor, I'd just like to give the
- 6 witness a chance to review the -- I don't have the exhibit
- 7 | number handy, but I think it's been marked for identification.
- 8 THE COURT: His resume?
- 9 MR. SNELL: Yes. Thank you.
- 10 MR. HEEREN: It is in evidence.
- 11 MR. SNELL: Oh, that's right. Government's
- 12 Exhibit 2008, for the record.
- 13 (Pause in the proceedings.)
- 14 A China is not specifically referenced in the resume.
- 15 Q It's not referenced at all; is it?
- 16 A There are a number of cases, multilateral institutions in
- 17 references to the various travel that I took as ambassador.
- 18 That would include travel to China, working with China in
- 19 ASEAN, A-S-E-A-N, which is the Association of Southeastern
- 20 Asian Nations, et cetera. Some of the cases that are
- 21 discussed without talking about where the victims came from,
- 22 | would involve cases that had originated in China.
- So China specifically is not named in the resume,
- 24 but experiences that I've had that had Chinese aspects to them
- 25 run throughout the entire document.

Do we have water for the witness?

(Pause in the proceedings.)

DIRECT EXAMINATION (Continued)

BY MR. HEEREN: (Continuing)

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Q Mr. DeBaca, are there different forms or types of forced labor?

A There are. In this kind of umbrella term of human trafficking that we touch upon a little bit earlier, the kind of two main things, types of compelled service that are looked at in the United States and around the world, are forced labor on the one hand, and sex trafficking on the other. I'm not going to address sex trafficking. That's very much outside of what we're here today on.

Forced labor is both a specific form of compelled service and often is used as an umbrella term itself. It encapsulates a number of different concepts that have been kind of generated over the years in the national and the international context, and those concepts then end up having labels ranging from involuntary servitude, practices similar to slavery, contemporary forms of slavery, forced labor, compelled service, indentured servitude, peonage, debt bondage and document servitude. All of those are loosely kind of thought of under the rubric of forced labor for the purposes of this kind of modern antihuman trafficking effort.

Q And is there any sort of common element that runs through

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1 these various different types of forced labor?

A All of them, as with sex trafficking, are defined by the use of some type of coercive means to hold someone, and by

4 hold I mean to either reduce them to or maintain them in, a

5 condition of compelled service. In other words, that they

feel that there's no reasonable alternative but to remain in

7 service or serious harm would occur.

And then all those different labels that I mentioned a second ago, involuntary servitude, peonage, et cetera, those often then end up mainly looking to see kind of what type of coercion was used. And so that's kind of those gradations amongst the different types within the phenomenon of forced labor.

- Q Are you familiar with different types of groups and organizations that have participated in forced labor?
- 16 A Yes, I am.

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- Q Based on your experience, what, if anything, can you tell us about the size and sophistication of groups that engage in forced labor schemes or practices?
- MR. SNELL: Objection.
- 21 THE COURT: Overruled.

A So one of the things that very much is recognized in both in the international and the American context, is that the scope of compelled service runs the gamut. Everything from an individual actor all the way to a very organized criminal

enterprise. For lack of a better term, a Mafia or an organized crime family.

It even can go to the state level, as we see with North Korea, Eritrea, et cetera, where you have very specifically set up states forced labor schemes. But typically it's something that is done by nonstate actors, individual actors.

In forced labor, you're talking about a business proposition. And so that can go everything from a small mom and pop shop to a medium sized farm factory or construction site, all the way to a transnational business that might end up having this in their supply chain, whether it's in construction, fisheries, agriculture, et cetera.

Q Focusing on businesses and their role in forced labor for a second, why do businesses get involved in forced labor?

MR. SNELL: Objection.

THE COURT: Overruled.

A Well, at the end of day forced labor is a problem of the combination of vulnerability and greed. If you have a vulnerable population and greedy folks, whether those are the labor recruiters or the final employers, then you have a ripe situation for that type of exploitation.

Based on my experiences at all the different levels, it appears that there's a combination of profit maximization on the one hand, and almost a pleasure that is taken in being

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1 able to have this type of control over other people. And so

- 2 some of it is kind of a very twisted, rational economic
- decision, and then some of it as well ends up being a much
- 4 more personal relationship between the employer and the folks
- 5 that they're holding in forced labor. And those kind of wash
- 6 around within the same relationship at times.
- 7 Q Are you familiar, as a general matter, with the concept
- 8 of visa fraud?
- 9 A I am, yes.
- 10 Q In your experience, does visa fraud have any connection
- 11 to forced labor practices?
- 12 A I mentioned, I think a minute ago, labor recruiters. And
- labor recruiters tend to be the way that a lot of people get
- 14 to their jobs in the international economy and when people are
- 15 traveling for work overseas.
- 16 And one of the things that we see is that visa fraud
- 17 is often a tool of the labor recruiters and the transporters
- 18 as they're moving people into the beginnings of that
- 19 employment relationship.
- One of the things that fraud in that moment does is
- 21 that it not only helps provide the worker, but it starts to
- 22 wrap the bands of compulsion or coercion around the worker, to
- 23 some extent, because if the worker knows that the visa that
- 24 was obtained for him was fraudulent, or later is doing things
- 25 that are not under the terms of the visa that they were

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1 brought in, then they know that they are committing a crime,

2 that they are violating the terms of their visa. And it makes

3 them almost a co-conspirator in that they aren't going to

necessarily then go seek help, because they think that they're

5 going to get in trouble for this crime of visa fraud.

6 So visa fraud has this kind of two-fold impact.

7 It's a way to get somebody into a country to do the things

8 that you really know that you want to do, and at the second

9 I time, it's also a way to make it so that they will not run to

10 the authorities because they know that they have done

11 something, or that something has been done in their paperwork,

12 that could get them in trouble.

13 Q And are you familiar as a general matter with the concept

of alien smuggling?

15 A I am.

16 Q Similar question.

17 Does that have any connection to forced labor practices?

18 A It does. And for many of the same reasons that I just

19 mentioned. Alien smuggling doesn't look at the

20 misrepresentation to the recipient government the way that

visa fraud does. Visa fraud is much more about fraud that was

22 | committed to get the visa.

23 Alien smuggling then is bringing someone into that

24 destination country without authorization. And it could be

25 that it's completely without inspection, which is a fancy way

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in the United States of saying just crossing the border. It can be with right to enter and then hold them over later. S that would be something going to port of entry, having documents, coming in and then staying. The colloquial term for that is overstaying visa.

Or it could end up being someone who is brought in totally legitimately. Everything is fine and then later something happens that keeps them in the United States with no longer having status, perhaps after their status is expired. So all of those are the different types of alien smuggling.

And they, too, very much have that effect. When someone knows that they are out of status, I typically hate to use the term, but the common term is that they are an illegal alien. They will very much then make their decisions as to whether they want to come out of the shadows; whether they want to seek help; who they want to confide in about their situation.

And so again there's that kind of balance of it's both a way to get people in, or have them remain here, but it also then sets them up as particularly vulnerable.

Q I want to change topics to the victims of forced labor.

Are you familiar with the groups or types of people that are commonly victims of forced labor? And can you tell us, based on your experience, what groups or types of people that typically is?

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A So one of the things that I think we've -- that the field has seen kind of emerge over the last 20 years is a better understanding of kind of the idea of excluded and vulnerable groups.

It's often in a country -- I'll start with kind of internal trafficking and then move out. Within a country it's typically going to be language minorities, religious or ethnic minorities. It's often based on, especially in Latin America on indigeneity, and people who are from the native American communities, are more likely to be victimized than people who are more of European ancestry.

In the international setting, what we see is that that vulnerability is not necessarily as tied to kind of the social status of that person's ethnicity or religion, and rather is more about the fact that they are a foreigner. If you have somebody who is in the United States on or in any other country really, it's not limited to the U.S., who is not speaking English, who's newly arrived, who's dependant upon their employer for a place to live, place to work, transportation, kind of cut off and vulnerable, in that they don't have access to the rest of the communities that are out there, those vulnerable communities then, it's — they're not vulnerable necessarily for the same reasons for internal trafficking. The fact that they are foreign in a different place and an isolated work site is more of what makes them

1 vulnerable.

Then when you put on top of that things that might be present in the home country, whether it's that they're from a poverty stricken area, or a group that lives in poverty, whether they're from a rural area or a small city in the Hinterlands, as opposed to the kind of main parts of the country, all of those things can go into rendering someone vulnerable to forced labor. It doesn't mean that they are in forced labor, but it certainly puts them squarely within vulnerabilities.

- Q Based on your experience, are there any particular industries where there is a greater risk of individuals being compelled into forced labor?
- A So there are a number of industries that have been pointed out regularly in the analytical portion of the trafficking report, as well as being looked at at the U.N. level and otherwise, that keep coming up kind of repeatedly because they're seen in all regions of the world as being a place that forced labor continues to be found.

And those, in a nutshell are -- and this is in no particular order -- sex trafficking, obviously, the sex industry and having those off to the side. But the places that we're seeing a lot of this are in fishing and forestry, agriculture, electronics manufacturing, construction and domestic service. Those seem to be some of the places that,

just by their very nature, that those particular sectors of the economy are the ones that are receiving a lot more attention.

And they're receiving attention not only from governments and regulators and the public, but they're receiving attention from their industry groups, as well, as they recognize the risk that is in their supply chain.

- Q Is there any particular areas of the construction industry where forced labor is a particular problem or vulnerabilities exist?
- A There are several, but one stands out. There are people who are looking at materials purchasing and sourcing within materials, everything down to gravel and concrete. But the biggest risk input for construction around the world is migrant labor. So migrant construction labor. For some of the reasons that I mentioned earlier, as far as being a language minority, often in a tenuous situation with your immigration and dependant upon the job and the work site as far as where you are in that country.

So within the construction industry, the labor input is head and shoulders above the rest as being the risk.

- Q And just to be clear, when you a migrant construction worker, you mean a construction worker who's come from one country to another to do construction work?
- A That's correct.

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- Q Are people who come from certain countries or countries with certain political or economic issues more susceptible to coercion into forced labor?
- A Yes. One of the things that we've seen is that there are kind of a correlation between types of Government and some of the forced labor practices. And specifically, we've seen that in the Asian region with communist autocratic governments where the power of the the course of the power of the state ends up being something that the business owners can turn to because there's kind of a shared understanding of people's relationship with the government and what happens to someone who gets out of line.
  - Q In your experience, when there are multiple victims of a forced labor scheme in one single scheme, are those victims typically all treated the same way?
  - A No. One of the things that we've seen, especially when you get larger groups, and by larger I mean kind of more than 10 or 15, when you get larger groups, even though it's a forced labor situation, the management techniques end up starting to mirror management techniques of a nonforced labor situation, and so you'll end up having people who are kind of the trusted confidant of the manager.

Some folks will even use incentive contests.

There's a case in New York a few years ago where the people who earned the most within this particular scheme, it was a

1 begging ring. The one -- the people who earned the most by

2 begging on the streets would actually then get a field trip to

3 the Statue of Liberty. So then the other workers that knew

4 that they should try to meet those same targets.

The flip side of it is the people who didn't get to go to the Statue of Liberty, were confined, locked in. The worst sellers were actually physically punished.

But that notion of kind of using almost the same management techniques that you'd use with any other business, to reward your folks who are not troublemakers, who are doing a good job for you, et cetera, and to punish those who aren't doing their good job. It just ends up being done with a different set of tools than hopefully we would experience in our own work places.

(Continued on following page.)

1 THE COURT: Overruled.

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A So this issue of kind of the combination of culpability and victimhood is just something that not only have I experience in and wrestled with over the years, but it is something that folks in the United Nations system under the Palermo Protocol and under the law that comes out of it have wrestled with, and that idea of having you deal with somebody who might have some culpability while at the same time recognizing that they were victimized in that way.

What happens as far as the outcome is concerned is something for law enforcement and for that particular government and I don't really have an opinion on what the most just outcome is, but in all of those conversations it flows out of an understanding that I share that one can be a victim and have at times either no longer have the compulsion put against you or even might end up doing things on behalf of the employer. It certainly doesn't make you a victim in the same sense that your fellows might be, but if you're just looking at was this person held in compelled service, that's something you have to take into account when you're figuring out what you do about that particular person.

Q Based on your experience with victims, are victims sometimes -- do victims sometimes -- withdrawn. What has been your experience with victims' views of their experience in a forced labor or coercive environment?

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MR. SNELL: Objection.

2 THE COURT: Overruled.

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So if I might, I'd maybe like to go just a little bit in the historical because of something that came up in my class this year. In that we were looking at some cases from the 1970s and the men in the fields in the south were basically trying to describe what it was -- to The New York Times trying to describe what they had gone through. They basically said we knew something was wrong, we just didn't know what to call I think that that really, to me, sums up my experiences with survivors of this and with folks around the world as to how things present. That there is a strong sense of fairness and strong sense of right and wrong, but very few people will necessarily automatically put it into an context of slavery or forced labor, relatively technical terms that people don't necessarily go through their lives thinking of on a daily basis. So sometimes it will manifest itself as, you know, we couldn't go outside, or we didn't get paid what we were told, or, you know, I felt like I couldn't leave because something might happen. But not necessarily having the kind of right words to describe or to come forward and say I'm a victim of this particular offense.

That does happen sometimes and typically it happens when people have had access to other members of the community, whether it's a community group, non-governmental organization,

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1 a Legal Aid provider who works in that immigrant community, 2 those are the places where people then tend to learn about 3 their labor rights and other rights that they might have in 4 the United States or in other countries. And so access to 5 those types of groups for migrant labor, especially on 6 government programs, like quest worker programs, ends up being 7 very important because it gives them kind of the vocabulary 8 with which to say something more than just I knew something 9 bad was happening but I didn't really know what that was. 10 So I want to turn now to a different topic. Are you 11 familiar with different ways or methods in which a person can 12 be compelled to engage in forced labor? 1.3 I am. Α At the highest level, can you just briefly summarize, are 14 15 there different -- are there different ways and what are they 16 very briefly? 17 So there's a number of gradations and some of them come 18 back to that umbrella term I mentioned earlier where you end 19 up having some of them described based on, say, how much physical force was used, that would probably be involuntary 20 21 servitude, or whether something was more structural, document 22 servitude comes to mind. Each of them tried to kind of 23 identify the commonalities of compelled service, but at the 24 same time to then look at what the different types of 25 compulsion are that were used. As you can expect then, it

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1 runs the gamut from full on locked up, beaten, punished, et 2 cetera, involuntary servitude, to the kind of scheme, plan or 3 pattern and use of these ominous harms that might happen for 4 forced labor, or the structural things, document servitude 5 which come from the taking and holding somebody's identity 6 documents. All of those are kind of the different types of 7 compulsion that can be used to hold people in this kind of 8 umbrella term of forced labor. And I apologize, the umbrella 9 term is actually one of the terms within it. This has kind of 10 developed over time with no rhyme or reason in the 11 international sphere. But for a lack of better term, all of 12 these are types of compelled service. 1.3 And you mentioned document servitude a number of times, 14 what is document servitude? 15 Document servitude is a form of forced labor in which the 16 compulsive means are that taking and keeping of the identity 17 documents of a person. Those identity documents could range from everything from a very formal, like a passport or a birth 18 19 certificate, to things that we would think of as being less 20 formal. A lot of cases involving people from Mexico whether 21 in the United States, Canada or other countries, it's taking 22 their voter registration card, because the voter ID card in 23 Mexico is kind of a functional equivalent of our driver's 24 licenses.

DeBACA - DIRECT - MR. HEEREN 645 1 United States, especially in sex trafficking, pimps will often 2 take the driver's license or even school IDs from their 3 But it's also other forms of identification. 4 you have things like diplomas or other key documents in your 5 life, taking and holding those end up having a similar 6 compulsive effect. Because unless you know that you have 7 these things that are descriptors of your life, you're not 8 going to want to leave or maybe you can't leave, in the form 9 of a passport, without them. 10 Can you please elaborate on that last point about a 11 passport. How does -- well, explain further about the 12 document servitude related to a passport? 1.3 MR. SNELL: Objection. 14 THE COURT: Overruled. 15 Well, the passport does a couple of things. The passport 16 is an identification, it says who you are, has a picture of 17 you, but it also says where and to whom you belong. You are a 18 member of that citizenship. You are from that country. So a 19 passport can say whether you're legal in the United States. 20 It has your visa in it typically, if you came in on a visa. 21 If you are from a country that doesn't require a 22 visa the fact that you have one of those passports 23 automatically shows to people that you are legal. So if you're from the United Kingdom or one of the visa waiver 24 25 countries, for instance, the fact that you have that EU

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passport or that British passport sends that signal immediately. So it's a marker of one's legal status. It's often the only thing that you have to show that you are you, because don't necessarily carry your birth certificate with you when you travel, but then also it is what unlocks your ability to take advantage of your right to travel.

The United States doesn't have exit visa requirements like a number of countries do. A number of autocratic countries, not just dictatorships, but a number of autocratic countries have exit visa requirements. Where you can't even leave your own country if you don't have a passport. The United States doesn't have exit visa, you don't have to apply to the government to be able to leave. But at the same time, if you go to get on a plane to leave and you don't have a passport, the carriers will not let you on because they know that they'd have to fly you back if you get to that other country and you don't have a passport to enter.

And so, knowing that you don't have a passport takes away your ability to get home on your own. The only way you can get home is through the good offices of whoever had your passport and if it's your employer or your recruiter, then your dependency upon that particular entity just grows and grows. So you, in effect, will do what you need to make sure that one day you'll see your documents again.

Q Have you dealt with cases involving document servitude in

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- 1 your past experience?
- 2 A I have.

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- 3 Q Have you ever heard any reasons for why an organization
- 4 or an individual is holding another person's passport?
- 5 A Yes. I mean -- and that's not only in my personal
- 6 experience as far as dealing with victims and employers, but
- 7 also in dealing with, say, factory owners and others as we did
- 8 the work at the state department and since with businesses.
- 9 Factory owners or others may end up saying, well, I was
- 10 keeping their passports for safekeeping or even they wanted me
- 11 to keep their passports for safekeeping.

12 And one of the things as far as looking at what the

13 best practices are for an employer holding passports -- first

14 of all, the best practice is to not have employers hold

passports, but if you're in a place where maybe that is a more

16 common practice or people actively want someone to hold their

passports, what we're seeing is the companies that want to

18 make sure that the passport is actually being kept rather than

19 confiscated and held will end up having ways for the workers

20 to access their own passports. So at the housing, if it's

21 company housing, having a set of lockers, kind of things like

22 we had to put our cell phones in, or at least some of us did

23 when we came in the courthouse today, you know, but so that

24 it's there but you can get it when you need it.

And that's one of the things that looking at whether

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1 | a passport is locked up, whether it's kept offsite, whether

2 it's kept in a company office somewhere, whether the person

3 has to justify why they need it, as opposed to simply saying,

4 you know, maybe I just wanted to touch my passport for no

5 apparent reason but it is my passport.

6 Your passport really is you in so many ways. So

7 that's one of the things that we're seeing in kind of where

8 are the passports, how accessible they are, for what reason

9 are they accessible and you have kind of a general spirit

10 within the company as far as, you know, we're keeping this for

11 you as opposed to things that evince the fact that we're

12 keeping this from you.

13 Q I believe you mentioned earlier on a concept called debt

bondage. Are you familiar with the concept of debt bondage?

A I am.

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16 Q What is it?

A Debt bondage, put the most simply, is that it's compelled

18 service for the purpose of paying off debt. And it has

19 several different manifestations.

In the United States, the predominant form of debt

21 bondage historically was something called peonage,

22 P-E-O-N-A-G-E, which is a word that is taken from Spanish and

it was a practice in northern Mexico at the time the United

24 States came over and took that part of Mexico.

In other parts of the world, debt bondage can be

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multigenerational. We see this in parts of India, we see this in parts of West Africa, et cetera. So you could be paying off a debt that your grandparents had been taken off, but by and large debt bondage in the modern context is not those big, long family, multigenerational structural things, it instead is typically a particularized debt and that debt is often tied to the labor recruiting process. Whether it's a debt for the cost of the ticket, the cost of administration functions, anything that you do that basically requires that debt and then have to be paying it off over time. And debt doesn't necessarily have to be directly to the person who is holding you in compelled service, it can be to a third party.

Back in sharecropping days in the United States that debt was often something that the farmer had gone into the sheriff and paid off somebody's criminal fine and so the debt was technically related to the sheriff, but then the boss ends up using the debt holding it over them so that they could turn them back in if they needed to.

In many cases around the world debt bondage ends up being present, the debt might not be to the employer, it might be to local loan sharks or even to family members. If you have to borrow the money for upfront costs, for the cost of travel, the cost of recruiting, security deposits, et cetera, you have to go out and get that money and then it's kind of a race between are you able to work for long enough to repay

- 1 those debts versus might something happen so that you can't
- 2 earn that money. And that debt is still going to be there
- 3 even if you end up leaving service.
- 4 Q In your experience, does the debt that you've identified,
- 5 does it have to be, for lack of a better term, real or even
- 6 legitimate?
- 7 A No, it's just has to be a perceived debt that the person
- 8 continues to strive towards.
- 9 Q Are you familiar with a concept or an idea, a topic
- 10 | called punishment clause?
- 11 A Yes.
- 12 Q What is a punishment clause?
- 13 A So a punishment clause is kind of like a security deposit
- 14 | I guess. It's basically within a labor contract that sets a
- amount of damages that would kick in were the person to leave
- 16 service, if they were to leave work before the contract term
- 17 had expired. And one of the ways to see if something is a
- 18 punishment clause as opposed to simply a surety contract, is
- 19 to see whether it's reasonably related to anything.
- Just like with recruitment fees. If the recruitment
- 21 fee is \$5,000 to go from Bangladesh to the Persian Gulf, yet
- 22 the tickets and everything else only cost \$450, it's clear
- 23 that that recruitment fee is not just a profit-taking
- exercise, but it ends up being so onerous that the person can
- 25 never repay it.

So you're looking at some of these things like, are there aspects of that contract that are there to just cover the costs of recruiting, or are there aspects of that contract that are there for a different purpose to basically put that web of dependency and coercion to create that climate of fear around that person.

- Q You just mentioned the term "climate of fear," is that a particular term you're familiar with?
- A Yes.

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- Q Can you elaborate on what that term means as you understand it based on your experience?
  - A Well, so the climate of fear is kind of another way to describe the overbearing of someone's will. You can do that certainly by just an overt threat, you know, gun to the head work for me or else. But most people don't do that, that's very clumsy and that's just not how compelled service works in the modern era. But rather there is that idea of whether the circumstances within the employment relationship are such that a reasonable person would feel like they don't have any choice but to continue to perform.

And so when you're looking at that it becomes -- you should end up looking to see what the worker knew, not just about their own experiences but what had happened to other workers. What the rumor mill said about what had happened to other workers. Everything from, you know, a suitcase of old

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1 clothes that gets pointed to and saying, oh, yeah, that was so

and so's zeros, but we turned him over to the police because

3 he tried to run away. Something ominous. It may or may not

4 have even happened but it becomes part of the lore of that

5 | work site. It helps to create that overarching climate of

6 fear.

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Of course, the effective way to do that is to invocate the fear not by running around using force or threats against all 50 or a hundred or 300 people in the garment factory, but instead making an example of a few them so it becomes part of the story that even new people come into the workplace start to say, well, don't cross so and so because you remember what happened to this other person.

So this climate of fear is a concept that kind of aggregates the experiences of people within that group of employees.

- Q Do people who are forced labor sometimes get paid?
- A Yes.
- 19 Q Are there ways in which payment or the lack thereof,
- 20 either, can be used to coerce labor?
- 21 A Yes. One of the most perverse ways to create this kind
- of dependency is to withhold pay or to have the pay set in
- 23 relation to, whether it's security deposits, punishment
- 24 clauses or recruiting fees, such that the only way to repay
- 25 those is to continue to work. And so people then end up being

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afraid to leave early because then they wouldn't be able to earn the money. So being punished by not being allowed to work that day is not being released from compelled service. It's not saying you're free, go work for whoever you want, it's you're confined to the barracks or you're confined to quarters, which if I'm sitting here looking at a punishment clause or if I'm sitting here looking at a recruitment fee that I have to pay off, every day I'm not earning money ends up being a day longer that I'm going to end up having to be there. And so, again, it's a way of control. It's kind of backwards though, right, it's you're saying don't work today as a way to have them in forced labor and yet it seems to work very effectively. Have you had any experience regarding the voluntariness or lack thereof of people who join what you end up determining is a forced labor scheme? So one of the kind of core concepts in the international sphere, the United Nations as well as the United States, is this notion that initial voluntary engagement in the work -either the type of work or working for that particular employer does not then waive your rights to be free on whether it's under the American 13th Amendment or Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Those are unwaivable rights and so the idea that I agree to go work on a particular orange farm knowing that I'm going to pick oranges, and

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1 knowing it's going to be hard work, does not then say that I'm

2 agreeing to be locked in to have my passport taken, et cetera.

3 Because you can't sell yourself into slavery. That is about

4 as basic of a concept within, not just American law, but in

5 international law as anything.

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And so that initial voluntariness, while it's something that one should typically look at, it's something that the modern anti trafficking regimes immediately look at and then discount. Because as the United Nations' language would say, once the coercive means have been used, that basically obviates any initial voluntariness.

- Q In your past experience, are you familiar with situations where victims have even signed formal, contractual agreements prior to working?
- A Yes. And in the old days in the United States those were called indenture contracts. You hear people talk about indentured servitude. Again, kind of coming back to the modern era and certainly the last 150 years, the idea of an indenture contract is not a valid, legal instrument because you can't sell yourself into slavery.
- Q What, if anything, have you observed when looking at the contract forming experiences, what, if anything, have you observed about the nature of that process that is relevant to whether it's coercive or not?
- A Well, one of the things that I was taught, and I think

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most of the lawyers in the room were taught in first year law school is this idea of contracts are between equals who have an arm's-length relationships and there is kind of equal power between the two sides. That's kind of how you're taught to think about contracts. The reality when you're talking about vulnerable communities, when you're talking about the people who are willing to stake several years of work on traveling all the way around the world to do a really dirty and dangerous job, those are not necessarily people who are at the same level as the recruiting companies or the employing companies. So you already start with folks who are not kind of that arm's length contract of equals that law school tends to think about.

On top of that, then, you also have, because you're talking about people who are coming from the provinces, you're talking about people who are traveling maybe for the first time, it may be the only time that they are going to be in the offices of the recruiter or the employer, and that tends to be when the contract gets signed. By that time the money that's been borrowed from the loan shark in the village or from your family members all pooling their money, that's already been done, you already told everybody you're leaving. You're on your way typically when you sign the contract. There is a kind of rushedness to the contract. In some ways it is a little bit akin to probably every time I click the Apple terms

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A Well, there's a host of reasons, one of which is that people want to stay in the United States to kind of get the benefit of the bargain, to actually make the money that they were hoping they would make when they came to the U.S. and so staying here rather than going home reflects that.

There's also — and as a result there are programs and legal structures in place, there's also the fact that a lot of times people are afraid to go back home and so that's something we see not just with the United States but with forced labor and sex trafficking around the world. It's one of the reasons why this three P's prevention, protection and prosecution has victim protection built in to it so the ability of a victim of that type of behavior can end up having refuge, not having to go back to the home country and face abuse perhaps from the loan sharks, from recruiters, from the bosses or henchmen or even from governments.

Q Do you recall testifying earlier about your knowledge of how of the social costs for victims, how they have said goodbye to their families already, do you recall that testimony?

A Yes. At the beginning just for my own purposes of getting us back to that, when I was talking about the recruiting fees and kind of the contract and the being rushed to get out the door, for lack of a better word, obviously the decision to go work anywhere much less in another country is

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not simply a personal decision to the one traveler, it's something that is very much a familial decision, it's very much a decision within the circle of friends, the village, the community, the neighborhood, et cetera. And typically, when one leaves, people know that they are going to this great opportunity. And so there is shame, especially in countries which are kind of shame-based cultures, that shame of coming back as what technically, the international term would be called coming back as a failed migrant or after a failed migration, that is something that in and of itself just the shame of having to go back and face that when you left, you know, on the top of the world and everyone was excited perhaps about or maybe even a little jealous as to your opportunity and now you have to go back and face that. Does a company or organization's -- excuse me. Are you familiar with the way in which a company or organization may associate itself with a particular government? And that happens around the world. It happens in a particular -- a little bit of a different context within former communist states or current communist states given the fact that the relationship between the state and private companies is different in those political circumstances. So we've seen that, in my role as ambassador saw that with a number of whether it's post-Soviet states or kind of Asian communist countries, the relationship, these

1 interconnectedness between private enterprises and the state,

but especially around kind of keeping control over the

3 workers.

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Vietnam.

Q And what, if any, connection is there between that association or relationship and a worker's decision -- a

victim's decision not to return to that foreign country?

A Well, one of the things that it does is that it makes the attempts for self-help suddenly become something that is of interest to the state. One of the things that you'll see, whether it's in cases with Vietnamese, North Korean or Chinese workers overseas, is use of very politically-laden terms such as causing trouble or stirring things up, being a troublemaker. Those are things that are kind of one level down perhaps from being a political agitator or being a labor agitator, which is the type of things that gets you sent to the reeducation through labor camps in China, or prison in

So people are very aware of not wanting to be branded with those types of labels. It makes standing up for one's self, things that we would assume, especially for people in the trades, that they be able to stand up for themselves, form a union, you know, work together with their other workers. If that gets transmitted back home, the fear that I've heard from a number of people around the world in the various roles I've had, the fear ends up being that it's the

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- 1 DIRECT EXAMINATION (Continued)
- 2 BY MR. HEEREN:
- 3 Q Do third parties ever come into play in this analysis of
- 4 whether or not to escape?
- 5 A Well, I think especially this idea of what that serious
- 6 harm would be and to whom.
- 7 If you're thinking about kind of if I leave -- and
- 8 | it runs the gamut. So it could be everything from domestic
- 9 servitude counter-intuitively or not, it can even be, if I
- 10 | leave, who will take care of the children? Even if they're
- 11 doing this to mean I love these children, I'm raising them,
- 12 and something might happen to them, or at least they won't be
- 13 loved.
- 14 It can be as dramatic as the, you know, my cousin
- 15 put up the collateral to his house, signed over his house so
- 16 that I can get the fees to pay the recruitment company or to
- 17 pay the security deposits or things like that, and my cousin
- 18 will end up losing their house.
- 19 You know, so it can be kind of, you know, not just
- 20 the overt, you know, if you leave I will hurt this other
- 21 person; it can even be these things that are very much more
- 22 motivated by these feelings of love and dependency and
- 23 familial relationship.
- 24 Q I'd like to turn your focus to forced labor issues
- 25 | specific to or particularly problematic in China.

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I believe you testified earlier you are familiar

2 | with those issues?

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- 3 A That's correct.
- Q And I'd like to focus your attention to the time period of 2010 through 2016.
- Are you familiar with the issues, forced labor issues in China in that time period?
- 8 A I am.
- 9 Q What sort of issues, based on your experience related to 10 force labor, did you see during that time period in China?
- A Well, there's a host of issues. And I'm not going to
- spend all day going through all of them.

the next two hours.

- 13 Q The ones that you think are relevant.
- 14 A The ones that I think are relevant to some of the materials that I reviewed here.
  - One of the things that we see in China with forced labor is that, again, maybe the three Ps, prevention, protection, prosecution, might be the way to not do this for

The focus on prosecution is almost exclusively until, actually, right near the time period you mentioned, has almost exclusively been on sex trafficking. And so the idea of a boss being punished for forced labor in China is something that wasn't really something that they can be afraid of, even though these things are understood, et cetera, that

the way that the police were actually implementing the laws on the books was very much toward the center of it.

To the degree that forced labor was dealt with, it was typically during that time period when we were dealing with cases that would force the government's hand, and usually around disability rights. And so you have, whether it was people who were mentally challenged or whether it was people who were physically challenged almost getting scooped up in railway stations where they were begging and taken out to brick kilns.

THE COURT: Just --

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THE WITNESS: I'm sorry, am I a little too far?

THE COURT: Little too far.

A So they would be taken out to brick kilns or to other very dangerous and dirty jobs.

But at the same time, and as was raised by the
United States and by various international observers, both in
the reports and then in our diplomatic conversations with
China, you had a series of forced labor cases around the world
with exported Chinese labor; you know, whether it was in the
Americas, whether it was in Africa, whether it was in
Southeast Asia, people who are working on construction
projects often, or in deficient fleets.

And these are not government projects. These are, you know, often maybe funded by the Chinese government, a dam

project, or a road building project, or something like that.

But it is with overseas Chinese men.

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The plight of those men is something that was continually raised by me, by my office, by others at high levels within the U.S. government, because we were seeing these cases around the world. And frankly, other countries were coming to us as well as sometimes escape workers were coming to the United States embassies for help, because they felt that the United States might do something to help them.

And so it certainly became something that in our diplomacy with China that we were having to look at this problem of the overseas Chinese labor trafficking problem, just as much as we were talking to them about their enforcement patterns within China itself. And so that was one of the things that we saw; again, whether it was in West Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia, all over the world, a routine problem cropping up during that time period.

Q And within that subset you just described, migrant worker -- migrant Chinese workers in construction and other fields, were there any common issues that you noticed or observed in your experience?

A Well, one of the issues that I observed was this problem of leaving with the debt and the financial hardships built into the relationship. Typically through a contract.

Typically through a recruiting company, or the recruiting by

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1 the company itself, that was taking you overseas.

And kind of series interlocking both debts and fees such that before people even got on the plane, they already knew what the serious harm would be that would come to pass were they to insist on their way to freedom.

- And do you recall previously testifying about debt bondage and punishment causes?
- Yes.

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- Did you ever see those two elements in these practices 10 you're describing?
  - Yes, those two practices, and then a third one that was reflected in our bilateral diplomacy, but also is in some of the reports kind to the end of the time period that other entities, such as the Global Cyber Index and the International Labour Organization, this idea of holding people's salary in arrears.

So you have three different things. You have the debts. You've got the punishment clauses that would kick in if you were to try to leave. And then also the fact that you aren't getting paid, that that payment is being held for you, almost as a secondary security clause, but a secondary security deposit that's building up over time as you work, such that you would only get the money if you go back home or you'd only get the bulk of the money if you successfully made it back to China at the end of the term. That assumes that

1 there is a term blanket.

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in English.

- Q What about document servitude. Is that an issue that you observed in particular in China?
- A It is. And one of the things that we would see is
  document servitude very much overlapping with a household
  registration scheme that's called Hukou. There's no real good
  way to spell Chinese words in the English language, but
  typically it's H-U-K-O-U is how it's trying to be written down

And that is basically a system in which when you come back from somewhere, or if you move from place to place, you need to register with the security police. And so that idea that you would then have to go in and report these things. And you have to have all of your documents, everything has to be perfectly in order upon return from overseas.

So that notion of having somehow gotten the black mark on your record while you were gone, the Hukou system ends up being a problem for overseas workers, just as it's the system for Chinese workers trying to move within China.

And all of that is in the context of an existing force labor scheme that's pointed out in our diplomacy and otherwise to the Chinese and has been one of the more troubling aspects of modern China, which is that reeducation through labor camps, large prison systems set up -- a lot of

attention in recent times but specific ones for the Muslim community from the Uighur subgroup, which is U-I-G-H-E-R, I think.

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But either before these camps for the Uighurs, this idea of reeducation through labor camps has a system of state-sponsored forced labor, often with electronics being manufactured or other manufacturing for export factories surrounded by the camps themselves.

This is something that the official ending of that program is something that was then reflected in an upgraded China from Tier 3. I can't tell you exactly what year it was. And yet even with that, continued reporting afterwards demonstrated that this practice was not ending immediately, but was still going on, even victims of forced labor and sex trafficking being put into these situations under the guise of rehabilitating them from what they have gone through and simply being in another forced labor situation.

Q I think you just answered some of my next question, which is: You mentioned these tier ratings a number of times.

In the relevant time period, 2010 to 2016, do you have a recollection of the tier or tiers that China was in?

A During that time period -- I'd have to refresh my recollection to give you an exact. But during that time period, China was either in Tier 3 or Tier 2 Watchlist, which is the, you're almost on Tier 3 portion, in all of those

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1 years. China has not been higher than that for quite some

2 time.

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3 Q And can you explain in summary what did that mean? What

does being on Tier 3 and then separately what does being on

5 Tier 2 Watchlist mean?

6 A So largely the Tier 3 is a country that is not complying

7 | with the living standards of the -- set forth in the

8 Trafficking Victims Protection Act, and is not taking steps to

9 come into compliance.

And it can be that they are needing to take steps or when they kick their tires, it certainly looks like that's not

12 happening.

If you look at a Tier 2 Watchlist, it basically says that they're taking some steps, but they've been ineffectual, that they actually are getting worse over time. That it is something you can't confirm. It's a whole host of kind of

17 what would go into this Tier 2 Watchlist situation.

And so that's been kind of where we see with the Chinese government. It will take years to come out with an actual plan of action, and then when that actual plan of action happens, the disconnect between what's being said at Beijing versus what's being done out in the cities, as far as what actually happens to trafficking victims.

The continued use of the frame of trafficking being something that is only about sex and something, and only about

Case 1:16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 85 of 166 PageID #: 5480 DeBACA - DIRECT - MR. HEEREN 672 women, and having all of the victim care and victim services run through a state-controlled non-governmental organization. Because you don't have true NGOs in China. All the All-China Women's Federation, which is during this time period, the only place you could go to to get some kind of help if you were -- had been subjected to forced labor, whether in China or otherwise. And if you didn't fit their profile, if you weren't a female, the All-China Women's Federation was not going to provide services or help to you as a trafficking victim. So all of those, ground prevention, protection and prosecution could go into that particular frame and scheme. I'd like to turn your attention now to a different topic. Have you had -- in your preparation, have you had the opportunity to review contracts that you understand to be relevant to this case? I have. Α Okay. MR. HEEREN: At this time I'd like to know what's

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- been admitted into evidence as Government Exhibit 103.
  - Actually, before I do that, I'm sorry, I'd like to show just the witness that's been marked for identification as Government's Exhibit 101.
- I'm just going to turn -- this is a document that includes both the translation and the original Chinese.

Case 1	:16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 86 of 166 PageID #: 5481
	DeBACA - DIRECT - MR. HEEREN 673
1	Mr. DeBaca, do you speak Chinese?
2	A I do not.
3	Q I'm going to turn to the attachment of the document.
4	There's an email in the attachment.
5	Do you recognize this document?
6	A Yes, I do.
7	Q Is this one of the contracts you've reviewed?
8	A It is.
9	MR. HEEREN: Your Honor, at this time I'd move to
10	admit Exhibit 101 subject to connection.
11	THE COURT: Any objection?
12	MR. SNELL: No, Your Honor.
13	THE COURT: All right, that will be in evidence.
14	(Government's Exhibit 101, was received in
15	evidence.)
16	(Exhibit published.)
17	BY MR. HEEREN:
18	Q I'd like to show you now both Exhibits 101 and 103.
19	I'll just turn to 101 briefly to show the jury.
20	When is this I'll turn to the last page.
21	When is this contract from?
22	A This contract is from the 25th of July in 2012.
23	Q And turning to Government's Exhibit 103. This is a
24	contract to Sheng Liu, the party B?
25	A Yes, Sheng Liu.

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DeBACA - DIRECT - MR. HEEREN

Q I'm sorry. Before you answer. To help both the jurors and the court reporter, if you can tell me where you're looking at, I can then follow along on the screen up here. I apologize.

A I apologize because I'm probably doing a lot of flipping.

In Exhibit 101 is the contract from 2012, and what I noticed about that in comparison to the contract from 2001 in Exhibit 103, is that the contract terms in 2012 are much stricter; that there's a much higher security deposit; that it says upfront that there's going to be strict management, which is the first paragraph; that while there are many other things that are very similar, especially around the relationship with the company, not running away, et cetera, that the terms of what will happen if someone is to run away ends up being much more conex.

And I'm looking, for instance, at -- on what's TR0011891, which would be the third page of that contract, specifically in paragraph 10. The fact of building in that there will be people who will hunt them down and that they'll have to pay for it. So you're paying for your own search for you when you run off.

So, too, you see in paragraph 9, the idea of paying for escorts, multiple escorts, that would presumably be sending you home if you were being sent home for being a troublemaker, or a runaway, or one of those other things.

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DeBACA - DIRECT - MR. HEEREN

There's also, as I think I mentioned, the security deposit is much higher. And, in fact, the security deposit in real terms, because the base monthly salary -- I very much apologize, I'm jumping around a little bit, I know that it's tough -- the base monthly salary of 8,000 yuan, which is in paragraph 6, is in comparison to the 15 -- excuse me, the 150,000 yuan security deposit, that that is a different percentage than in the earlier contract.

The earlier contract I think is, if I recall right, 3,000 yuan a month and only a 50,000 yuan security deposit.

So you're actually paying more under this contract of a security deposit compared to how long -- or excuse me, how much you're making every month.

The other thing that is interesting to me in comparison of the two, is that there are more reminders in paragraph 10, which has the various types of things that one is not supposed to do; that there are more reminders of the interplay between the company and the government. It comes off as — in some ways as a bit more cautionary as far as getting in trouble with the government is concerned.

It also continues a number of the same things that we saw in the 2001 contract, as far as ganging up with others, stirring up trouble, working for a third party, running away, leaving without permission. Those are kind of through lines on these -- on these things.

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Q So let's walk through those a little bit more deliberately so I can point them out to the jury.

In the Government's Exhibit 103, the first thing I want to ask you to look at is the section called duration of the contract.

Do you see that section, paragraph 1?

A That's correct.

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- 8 Q What do you notice about that clause of the contract?
- 9 A Well, it's totally open-ended. There's -- I think I
- 10 mentioned earlier kind of the expectations that people go
- 11 through when they think about, you know, will I borrow money
- 12 to pay for recruiter fees and all these other things because I
- 13 think I'll get X amount when I'm in that other country, but at
- 14 | least I know, even if it's bad, that I will get a payout when
- my contract is up, and these are contracts that do not have
- 16 end dates. And so that notion of when would I get to go back
- 17 to China, and then actually get this money that's being not
- 18 paid to me that's being collected over time, as well as being
- 19 able to get my security deposit back.
  - All of those things are not something that I or my family can plan for at all. I can't buy my way out of this either, simply by saying I've decided that the most rational
- 23 thing for me to do is just pay the money.
- It's one of these kind of the open-ended nature of
- 25 the contract to begin with, ends up sending up some major red

When that then, the administrative punishments and the rights to cancel, send people home, trigger the legal liabilities that are set forth in the other portions of the contract. All of those together then end up being what I would term the penalty clause. These are the things that

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1 | would trigger that -- those penalties.

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Q Okay. And now turning to the 2012 contract. I want to identify a few specific ones and ask you your observations on the terms of those contracts — those clauses.

One thing that I think I missed, and I was suggesting as

I'm turning away from the other one, is that there are those things that I had just mentioned, but there's also then a separate paragraph that talks about compliance with the laws and regulations of the United States, which could have been a ninth portion of that. But that would, to me, be also part of the things that would end up triggering those penalties.

Q Well, why would just telling somebody to comply with the laws of United States be problematic?

A Well, it shouldn't be. But as I understand it, if people are then working in an unauthorized work situation and that that is part of what the company's having them do, then they are automatically out of compliance with the laws and regulations of the United States.

You're basically setting them up by saying don't violate the laws of the United States. If you do, not only will these various punishments in the rest of the contract be there, but you are then going to be assuming all of the risk. If you are working on a project that's outside of the scope of the laws and regulations of the United States, and now they let you in, you, according to this contract, you know, if you

to a couple of things you previously mentioned.

In paragraph 1, see where it says to accept strict management?

Yes.

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What about in paragraph 5, do you see the portion that says -- that warns people not to engage in anything detrimental to the dignity of China as a nation and the dignity of the Chinese people?

Yes, I see that.

Does that have any relevance to you?

The notion, and we see this during this time It does. period in the other overseas Chinese communities that I was mentioning, this idea that if one were to exist upon their rights, if one does something that could be seen as labor

activism, if one runs to another country or officials of another country for help, that all of those are things that could be seen as being against the national interests of China, embarrassing China, putting China in a bad position, because it is a shameful thing to have the Chinese workers doing that.

And so, again, it's kind of this intrusion in, in a way that the other part of the clause about state secrets or trade secrets does not necessarily.

Those are something that you can actually look at and say that is a state secret or that is a trade secret, impugning the reputation of China, or embarrassing China, or doing something detrimental to the dignity of China, is something that's much more in the eyes of the officials who you are going to have to talk to you when you get back home.

Q So that same clause also indicates that it's a violation, or it says in the affirmative you will not, you will not separate from party A's management and run away to the United States or a third country.

Do you see that?

A Yes.

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Q So in other words, is it correct for me to say that that's saying that they are equating stopping working for party A, Rilin, with running away to the United States?

A That's correct.

1 particular.

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One of them includes number 3, communicating with overseas relations or organizations without permission.

Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q What do you understand that to be saying?

A Well, it's saying two things, both of which are troubling.

The idea that one cannot call a family member or communicate with somebody here in the United States, or I guess in a third party as well, or a third country as well, that idea of their inability to talk to family members or extended family members, whether it's here in New York or otherwise. Again, it isolates them and cuts them off from potential avenues in which they can learn that there might be other options out there.

And then also having the organizations specifically listed. Again, the notion of whether it's the various Chinese immigrant fraternal organizations; whether it's folks from that particular region of China who might have a social club here in the New York area; whether it's something that looks to serve that community; whether it's for health issues; whether it's for legal advice, even church groups, or others that tend to come in under that.

And so that this idea of it's not just don't run

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1 away or don't stir up labor agitation, it's even don't have

contact with the outside world, you need to be in this

3 hermetically-sealed bubble.

- 4 Q And turning to number 5. This is what you were referring
- 5 to before, as I believe your testimony was that, terms like
- 6 stirring up trouble and ganging up or particularly a concern
- 7 | in former communist or current communist Asian countries?
- 8 A Yes. The other things that are not, as far as getting
- 9 drunk and fighting, I think we can probably all agree on that
- 10 is basic workforce expectations. But this idea of ganging up,
- 11 stirring up, et cetera, in the communist or former communist
- 12 countries, those are very latent ways of describing what
- 13 | workers might end up doing.
- 14 And it's typically -- I recall one particular case
- 15 where a woman was arrested and sent back and met by the
- 16 Vietnamese secret police because she had been elected by the
- other workers to go ask for some chicken to be added to their
- 18 rice, because they were all losing weight, and because she had
- done that, she was seen as stirring up trouble.
- 20 Q Now, looking at 7, 8 and 9, all three of these have to
- 21 deal with stopping working and leaving in some fashion; is
- 22 that fair to say?
- 23 A That's correct.
- 24 Q So this is yet, again, additional warnings or
- 25 instructions that you have to keep working; is that fair to

- 1 say?
- 2 A That's right.
- 3 Q And the last thing I want to point out is paragraph 12.
- 4 Do you see paragraph 12?
- 5 A Yes.
- 6 Q And this paragraph indicates that if you're gone or if
- 7 you leave the consulate or work site or living quarters for
- 8 more than one day without written approval, you'll be deemed
- 9 to be leaving without permission, and all these clauses will
- 10 come into effect.
- 11 A That's correct.
- 12 Q And with the payment clause, does it indicate when the
- 13 parties will be paid?
- 14 A So the parties but for a little bit of draw that the
- 15 family members would be able to do throughout the terms, or
- 16 throughout the term of the work, the money itself, the bulk of
- 17 the wages, are going to be held in arrears to be given back to
- 18 a worker upon their successful arrival back in China. Because
- 19 if you end up running away or going back to China on your own
- 20 without their permission, et cetera, then you would end up
- 21 forfeiting that amount of money as well.
- There this is little amount of money that your
- 23 family can draw. I think in this contract it's 1500 RMB, and
- 24 then the previous contract, it's, I think, a thousand RMB,
- 25 also not really tied up as far as the three times expansion of

1 the security contract.

But it's only out of each two-month salary. And so if I've got the math right, if I'm looking at getting 16,000 RMB a month, and -- or excuse me, every two months -- and every two months my family can go and get 1500 of my salary out, but all the rest of it ends up staying in.

So it's not only a delayed salary, but that even what my family can get ends up having this two-month delay and lag time, and that is not nearly enough to do anything as far as paying back or paying down the amount of that security deposit.

- Q And that security deposit of 150,000 RMB based on the stipulated exchange rate, that works out to roughly -- have you done the math to establish what that works out?
- A The 150,000? Again, I never hired myself to do math, but I think that's around \$23,000.
- 17 Q Okay.
  - A And the concern, again, if you translate that then from money into months, I guess is the one of the concerns that I have, is that if you're talking about your family members back home, the only way that they can get anything approaching 150,000 RMB is if I work for 200 months. Because they're going to have to be able to get those 200 months, and obviously, that's a lot of years.
    - Q And then in paragraph 11, I just want to flag for you,

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1	AFTERNOON SESSION
2	(Time noted: 2:30 p.m.)
3	(In open court.)
4	MR. SNELL: I was going to request that the Court
5	deliver its usual limiting instruction with respect to
6	instructions upon the law coming from the Court alone because
7	there was a lot of testimony today involving legal concepts.
8	THE COURT: I see. I thought it was more in line
9	with the various positions that agencies and the Government
10	have taken rather than Court position, but I take your point.
11	Do you want me to do that now?
12	MR. SNELL: Yes, please.
13	THE COURT: Before you start your cross?
14	MR. SNELL: Yes.
15	THE COURT: And what do you want me to say?
16	MR. SNELL: I think just the standard instruction
17	that is traditionally given by the Court along the lines of
18	what your Honor instructed the jury at the outset of the case,
19	that the instructions on the law come from your Honor alone.
20	THE COURT: I think if it's okay, what I'll say is
21	to the extent there's been any reference to the law or
22	anything like that, I'll instruct them at the end and they

should just take it from me.

Is that all right?

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MR. SNELL: That's fine. Thank you very much.

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- 1 (Jury enters.)
- THE COURT: Welcome back. I hope you had a good
- 3 lunch.
- We're ready to proceed with the cross-examination
- 5 but this seems like as good a time as any to remind you that
- 6 I'm going to instruct you on what the law is at the end of the
- 7 case. So, to the extent that a witness has referenced the law
- 8 or a lawyer mentions the law, you know this already, but I'll
- 9 give you the instructions on the law at the end of the case,
- 10 all right?
- Go ahead.
- MR. SNELL: Thank you, your Honor.
- 13 CROSS-EXAMINATION
- 14 BY MR. SNELL:
- 15 Q Good afternoon, Mr. DeBaca.
- 16 A Good afternoon.
- 17 Q You testified this morning about something you referred
- 18 to as the Asia region.
- Can you tell us what you had in mind there?
- 20 A The East Asian and Pacific region is one of the ways the
- 21 State Department organizes itself.
- 22 Q And does the East Asian region include the country of
- 23 | People's Republic of China?
- 24 A It does.
- 25 Q How many people reside in the East Asia region as defined

DeBACA - CROSS - MR. SNELL

- 1 by the State Department?
- 2 A I don't know the demographic numbers of the various
- 3 regions as far as that's concerned.
- 4 From my own personal experience, I know that a large
- 5 percentage of the population of the world resides in the
- 6 Pacific Rim.
- 7 Q The population of the country of China is a little over
- 8 1.4 billion right now, isn't it?
- 9 A Again, I don't have personal knowledge of that, but that
- 10 doesn't seem that far off from what my common knowledge is.
- 11 Q That sounds fair?
- 12 A That sounds fair.
- 13 Q On direct examination, you shared with us a number of
- 14 indicators of what I believe you characterized as high risk
- 15 factors for forced labor; do you recall that?
- 16 A Yes.
- 17 Q And the high risk factors that you mentioned included
- 18 things like workers, employers, industries, economic sectors,
- 19 geographic areas, correct?
- 20 A I mean, geographic areas not at the level of the regional
- 21 bureaus of the State Department -- I mean, those are entire
- 22 one-fifth of the world -- but all of those are things -- with
- 23 that caveat, all of those are things that one needs to end up
- 24 looking at.
- But geographic areas per se is not necessarily

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1 | something that I tend to think of as one of the indicators of

- 2 trafficking or forced labor.
- 3 Q I thought you did refer to certain geographic areas
- 4 | within China, didn't you?
- 5 A Well, locations within a country, places where people are
- 6 known to be trafficked from or trafficked to, that certainly
- 7 is something that one would necessarily look to. But as far
- 8 as the broader geographic, I apologize if there's any
- 9 | confusion as to whether I was talking about Asia as opposed to
- 10 Africa, European, Western Hemisphere, et cetera.
- 11 Q You didn't mention anything about the province of
- 12 Liaoning, China, did you?
- 13 A I don't think I mentioned any particular provinces, no.
- 14 Q Would you agree with me that there are plenty of people
- 15 in what you characterized as high risk areas who are not
- 16 victims of forced labor?
- 17 A Yes.
- 18 Q Would you also agree with me that there are plenty of
- 19 people in those areas who are not perpetrators of forced
- 20 labor?
- 21 A That's correct.
- 22 Q In fact, to determine whether someone is a victim or a
- 23 perpetrator of a forced labor scheme, you would have to
- 24 carefully examine the specific facts and circumstances
- 25 involved; wouldn't you?

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1 A Yes.

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2 Q And to make that determination, you'd have to engage in a

3 pretty careful analysis of those facts and circumstances as

related to particular individuals; would you not?

A To make the individual determination, yes.

6 Q And as to those facts and circumstances that would have

7 to be analyzed in order to make the individualized

8 determination, as you put it, you would need to be able to

9 speak to the facts and circumstances, wouldn't you?

A Yes, that seems fair, that you need to know the facts and

11 circumstances to be able to look at the individual as opposed

12 to a sector or other analysis.

13 Q Now, if a particular individual or worker from Liaoning

14 Province working for a company in the United States, a Chinese

company that brought him to the United States to work, and

16 during his tour of employment encountered a family illness and

17 that worker requested permission from the employer to go back

18 to China to deal with the family emergency, would you agree

19 that that is a significant factor to consider as to whether

20 that person is involved as a victim of a forced labor scheme?

21 THE COURT: I just want to make sure, I'm not sure I

22 understand the question. Are you asking whether the

23 permission was granted or whether the person just asked?

MR. SNELL: Thank you, your Honor, yes, whether

25 permission was asked and granted.

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1 THE COURT: Okay.

A I'm trying to sort through the question as well.

So, the hypothetical that you've put forward is if someone was able to go home because there was a family illness, would that be indicative of or relevant in looking at

whether or not there was a forced labor situation?

O Sure.

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A I think it would be one of the many things that you'd want to look at in the mix. To me, it wouldn't necessarily obviate any other factors that might be present, but, at the same time, it also is something that you would want to look at all of the interactions between those particular parties.

Q Let me ask you to assume that the same worker actually signed up for three tours with the same company.

Would that be a factor that you would consider relevant?

A It would be a relevant factor.

I recognize that there have certainly been cases where people have gone, returned, et cetera, and that it did not obviate the fact that they were being held in other forms of compelled service. I've seen that type of behavior in other cases, where it was very clear that the people were being held in compelled service —

Q Let me ask the next question, if I could.

THE COURT: I'll ask you both to do me a favor and

- 1 | the court reporter a favor and let him finish before you start
- 2 asking a question. Thank you.
- 3 Q Sir, I'm going to ask you, actually, as many yes-or-no
- 4 questions as I can, and I'd appreciate if you could answer
- 5 them yes or no; is that okay?
- 6 A Of course.
- 7 Q If the same worker that we were talking about had posted
- 8 | a security deposit along the lines of what you were discussing
- 9 this morning for his first and second tours, but for the third
- 10 tour that he then went on that requirement were waived, would
- 11 | you consider that relevant?
- 12 A Relevant, not determinative.
- 13 Q Thank you. You have no knowledge about any of the
- 14 specifics of specific circumstances involving any worker for
- 15 the China Rilin company between 2010 and 2016, do you?
- 16 A I do not.
- 17 Q And you don't have any knowledge about what working
- 18 conditions in his Dandong, China, were like during that
- 19 period, do you?
- 20 A I do have information as to what working conditions in
- 21 Dandong and other cities in the northeast of China were based
- 22 on the reporting from my office and working with the embassy
- 23 in Beijing, yes.
- 24 Q Not based on any work that you, yourself, have done in
- 25 the field; is that right?

- 1 A That is work that I did in the field, but I guess in
- 2 that -- as I see it, it's work that came up to me. So, my
- 3 understanding of Northeast China, more in Liaoning province
- 4 than in this province, frankly, but you are correct in that I
- 5 have not been to Dandong and I haven't seen it myself.
- 6 Q You don't know what a typical salary for a carpenter in
- 7 Dandong would be, do you?
- 8 A I do not.
- 9 Q You were asked on direct about Government Exhibits 103
- 10 and 101, the two contracts; do you remember?
- 11 A Yes.
- 12 Q And there were some salary figures in there; is that
- 13 right?
- 14 A There were.
- 15 Q And you don't have any knowledge as to how those figures
- 16 compare with what the going salaries would have been for those
- 17 two workers in Dandong during the relevant period, do you?
- 18 A I have general understanding of kind of the going rate
- 19 for manual laborers in China; but anything as specific as what
- you're saying, no.
- 21 Q You don't know that the rates that are quoted in those
- 22 contracts are significantly higher than the rates that were
- 23 being paid at the same time for the same kind of work in
- 24 Dandong?
- 25 A There's no way for me to know that.

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1 Do you know anything about the process for workers in

- 2 Dandong to apply for work -- to apply for the opportunity to
- 3 come to work in the United States?
- With this particular company or in general.
- 5 Yes, with China Rilin?
- 6 No, no.
- 7 So, you don't have any insights into the motivation of
- 8 any particular worker who may have signed a contract with
- 9 China Rilin to come work in the United States, do you?
- 10 No.
- 11 And you agree that that would be a relevant factor in
- 12 determining whether someone were a victim of a forced labor
- 13 scheme, don't you?
- 14 What their hopes and expectations were, it would be very
- 15 relevant.
- 16 As to their particular circumstances, I think that
- 17 would be something to look at as far as differential and
- 18 power. But, otherwise, what they were hoping for is something
- 19 we would normally want to look at.
- 20 There's a lot to consider, isn't there?
- 21 Very much so.
- 22 Are you familiar with something that's called the report
- 23 of the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Slavery,
- issued by the United Nations Rights Council? 24
- 25 Yes.

- 1 Q Do you consider that to be an authoritative document?
- 2 A Yes, it's one of three rapporteurs in the area.
- 3 MR. SNELL: Let me just ask if the witness could be
- 4 | shown Defense Exhibit DX0122 for identification.
- 5 Q Mr. DeBaca, do you recognize what I put in front of you?
- 6 A I do.
- 7 Q Is that the report that I just referred to by that long
- 8 title?
- 9 A Yes, this is the report of the special rapporteur, and
- 10 | it's from July 2016.
- 11 Q That report includes a discussion of general principles
- of debt bondage, doesn't it?
- 13 A I haven't reviewed the report, but that's what it says,
- 14 among other things, that it's dealing with, yes.
- 15 Q Can you please turn to Page 4 of the report and take a
- 16 look at it?
- 17 THE COURT: Any particular part?
- 18 Q Actually, the whole page, if you could read it.
- 19 (Pause in proceedings.)
- 20 A I've read it.
- 21 Q Thank you.
- 22 Directing your attention to the last part of the
- 23 | first paragraph, do you agree with the statement that: Work
- 24 or service which is exacted from any person under the menace
- of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered

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1 himself voluntarily is the definition of debt bondage.

2 A No, that's the definition of forced labor from 1930.

In the International Labor Organization, the ILO,

4 Convention, the definition of debt bondage that's set forth

earlier in that paragraph is from a different convention.

Q So, you disagree with that definition today?

You don't think that applies anymore?

A The 1930 convention is not a debt bondage convention,

9 it's the forced labor convention under the ILO. It's been

10 superseded in part by the trafficking protocol of 2000. And

11 in the United States, the Trafficking Victim Protection Act of

12 2000 is what defines forced labor.

13 Q But my question is, do you disagree with the statement

14 that debt bondage is work or service which is exacted from any

person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said

16 person has not offered himself voluntarily?

17 A That is the definition of forced labor under the 1930

convention.

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Debt bondage requires that there be a debt for the

purposes of that.

MR. SNELL: Your Honor --

THE COURT: I know you want him to answer yes or no,

23 but sometimes a witness has to explain a little more. So, I'm

24 going to permit him to do that.

Go ahead.

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1 MR. SNELL: Thank you.

Q In the next paragraph, there's a statement that says:

3 People enter the status or condition of debt bondage when

their labor or the labor of a third party under their control

5 is demanded as repayment of a loan or of money given in

6 advance, and the value of their labor is not applied towards

the liquidation of the debt or the length of service is not

limited and/or the nature of the service is not defined.

Do you agree with that statement?

A As to debt bondage under international law, yes.

Q But not as to debt bondage generally?

12 A Debt bondage, in the way that this is being used for

13 bonded labor, is the practice of debt bondage that you see in

14 India, Pakistan, and other places where traditional debt

15 bondage systems that date back to the British Colonial Empire

16 end up happening.

17 So, the term "debt bondage" as just kind of a

general usage term is something that encompasses kind of

19 peonage and other forms of forced labor for the purposes of

20 debt.

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Debt bondage, in the kind of official sense, as it

22 is ending up describing this idea of bonded labor, which I

23 think I had touched on briefly in direct, which is very much a

24 marker of the British colonialism.

Q Don't you agree as a general matter that in order for

- 1 there to be debt bondage there needs to be a debt?
- 2 A Yes, there needs to be a debt.
- 3 Q Now, you testified this morning for a bit about some
- 4 provisions in the Government exhibits, the contracts, that
- 5 | were shown to you; do you recall that?
- 6 A Yes.
- 7 Q And there were a number of rules that you testified
- 8 about; do you remember?
- 9 A Yes.
- 10 Q You don't have any knowledge as to whether any of those
- 11 rules actually were in force with respect to either of the
- 12 parties who signed those contracts, do you?
- 13 A I do not.
- 14 Q Would it make a difference to you in your analysis of
- 15 those contracts if you knew whether or not any of those rules
- 16 actually were not enforced in practice?
- 17 A It would not make a difference in my analysis of the
- 18 contracts, no.
- 19 Q What about as to whether the person, the worker, who
- 20 signed each of the contracts was a victim of a forced labor
- 21 scheme?
- 22 A It would be irrelevant to determining whether or not they
- 23 | were a victim of a forced labor scheme but in a way that's
- 24 separate from whether the four corners of those contracts
- 25 constitute a contracted indenture or something that would make

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1 them vulnerable to forced labor.

THE COURT: I want to make sure I understand, are

3 you asking whether it would make a difference if even though

4 somebody signed this contract, nobody did any of the things

that they said might happen?

MR. SNELL: Yes.

7 THE COURT: I see.

I hope I didn't unclarify the situation. I wanted

9 to make sure I understood.

10 Q Did Judge Donnelly's question or clarification affect

11 your answer?

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12 A No. Hopefully, it made it more clear, though.

THE COURT: I don't think it did that, but go ahead.

14 Q Getting back briefly to the hypothetical worker we were

discussing a few minutes ago, would you agree that in order

for the worker to have returned to China in the first tour

17 because of a family emergency there must have been some sort

18 of communication with China?

19 A Yes, someone would have to know that there was a family

emergency.

21 Q Would that fact about communication with the family back

22 home be relevant to your analysis as to whether there was a

23 forced labor scheme afoot?

24 A I would want to know who was communicating and how that

communication was done, but, yes, it would be relevant.

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- Q If the communications were directly with the family that was involved, that would be significant, wouldn't it?
- A Not necessarily because phone calls to and from and to
  families from people who are being held in forced labor
  situations are increasingly common now that the price of phone

calls have gone down.

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It used to be that if you had to go to the pay phone that the bosses controlled, it was almost unheard of. Now people are getting calls right out on factory floors even as something bad is happening.

So, I think it's certainly indicative and something that should be looked at, but that one, it's not as relevant as I think it might have been if I was looking at this case 15 years ago -- or your hypothetical situation, sorry, not this case.

- Q But a communication back home with family is one of the factors or the lack thereof is one of the factors I think that you cited in your testimony this morning, isn't it?
- A My understanding of that contract was that it's family members and organizations here in the United States that they are not supposed to communicate with.
- Q I'm sorry, I wasn't referring actually to the contract,
  I'm just talking about whether there would have been
  communication back home to China with the family there.
- A That's something that, as I said, is becoming

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- increasingly more present in these cases as cellphones become
  more present in migrant people's lives.
- Q I'm sorry, I don't understand, when you refer to "these cases," what do you mean?
- A When one is looking to see what access people might have to the outside world or in forced labor cases at large, the presence of cellphone technology over the last ten years has

dramatically transformed people's ability to call home.

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- So, it's something that certainly is being seen but it's not necessarily the same relevance as maybe 15 or 20 years ago, when calling home was something that you had to go to the boss to be able to do or something like that.
  - Q So, the fact that someone is able to call home and communicate with the family at home is an indicator that it's less likely that the caller from the United States is going to be isolated and vulnerable the way you were positing this morning; isn't that true?
  - A I apologize for the confusion. That is something that would have been extremely relevant about 10 or 15 years ago, but now that we have cellphone technology and people are taking cellphones into these workplaces, contact with folks back home ends up being much more common.
  - Q And the fact that it's much more common means that the people who were able to do it are less isolated than they would have been 10 or 15 years ago; isn't that so?

- 1 A They are more able to talk to their family.
- 2 Q And that makes them less isolated, doesn't it?
- 3 A Yes.
- 4 Q Now, in your testimony this morning, you also referred to
- 5 some materials that you reviewed in connection with your
- 6 testimony here; do you recall that?
- 7 A Yes.
- 8 Q Could you tell us what those materials were?
- 9 A So, in preparation for testifying, one of the things that
- 10 I looked at in addition to the materials from the case that
- 11 had been given to me -- the contracts, et cetera -- I went
- 12 back and I looked at the China narratives from the Trafficking
- 13 In Persons report to get kind of the full picture of 2001
- 14 through the end of the time period.
- 15 O And which materials were those?
- 16 A Those were the country reports from Trafficking In
- 17 Persons reports.
- 18 Q Did the members of the Government team provide you with
- 19 anything specifically?
- 20 A The folks from the Government team provided me with
- 21 several exhibits, the contracts, et cetera, that I looked at
- as I started to hone in on what were the issues that I saw
- 23 within those contracts.
- Q Was one of the documents that the Government provided you
- 25 a roughly 40-page typewritten narrative of what is the

- 1 Government's view of the facts of this case?
- 2 A By that you mean the criminal complaint?
- 3 Q Yes.
- 4 A Yes.
- 5 Q And you reviewed that document?
- 6 A I did.
- 7 Q And paid careful attention to what was being alleged in
- 8 that document?
- 9 A I did.
- 10 Q And considered the allegations in that document in the
- 11 course of preparing your testimony here?
- 12 A To some extent.
- I wasn't being asked to do anything within the four
- 14 corners of the criminal complaint. Of course, the criminal
- complaint is a recitation of known facts at the beginning of
- 16 the case and has been supplanted by other legal instruments --
- 17 Q Actually, it's just a set of allegations.
- THE COURT: Well, let's not debate, shall we, about
- 19 what it is.
- If you want to ask him questions about what he
- 21 looked at, that's fine.
- 22 Q Sir, you said that they are known facts in a criminal
- 23 | complaint, correct?
- 24 A I'll actually go with you: Those were alleged facts.
- 25 Q How much time would you say you spent reviewing the

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1 criminal complaint?

2 A I didn't break down each thing that I looked at by

3 particular time periods, but I'd say over the course of a few

weeks, returned to it, looked at it probably two or three

5 times.

It didn't make up the bulk of my inquiry because I

7 | wasn't looking at the specific facts of these particular

8 | workers given that that wasn't going to be my role in

9 testifying today.

- 10 Q When did you get contacted in connection with this case?
- 11 A About a month, little over a month ago, month and a half.
- 12 Q And during that time, have you pretty much been in
- 13 regular contact with the Government team?
- 14 A Sporadic, with -- more regular in the last couple of
- 15 weeks as it became clear that this would be part of the case
- 16 presented in court.
- 17 Q Telephone conversations?
- 18 A Yes.
- 19 Q Face-to-face meetings?
- 20 A Yes.
- 21 Q I think you testified on direct that in your present
- 22 business as a consultant, you have a standard fee schedule; is
- 23 that right?
- 24 A That's correct.
- 25 Q Isn't it true that for review of records, you charge at a

- 1 rate of \$400 an hour?
- 2 A That's correct.
- 3 Q For remote preparation work, you charge at a rate of \$500
- 4 per hour?
- 5 A That's right.
- 6 Q For in-person work -- in other words, like a face-to-face
- 7 | meeting in the same room -- you charge at a rate of \$2,000 per
- 8 day?
- 9 A That's correct if I have to travel to someplace to
- 10 testify or to meet in person.
- 11 Q And for giving court testimony, as you are today, how
- 12 much do you get?
- 13 A That's \$2,000 a day as well.
- 14 Q So, for testifying here today, you're getting \$2,000?
- 15 A Yes.
- 16 Q You also have a travel time charge?
- 17 A That's correct.
- 18 Q How much is that?
- 19 A That's \$200 an hour.
- 20 Q Have you estimated at this point the total amount of
- 21 charges that you're going to be submitting to the U.S.
- 22 Government in connection with this case?
- 23 A I haven't tallied up the hours yet, unfortunately, but I
- 24 think it's within the -- well within what the Government had
- asked me to do, which was, I think, a maximum of 16 hours of

by the company, would that be a factor in your analysis?

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If the person had returned home and had not been paid yet

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A Yes, when there's a contract that has these arrears clauses, that would definitely be a factor.

Q If the person who returned home for an illness and had not been paid went to management of that company and asked for the security deposit back and asked to be paid and the company's management refused, would that be relevant to your

7 analysis?

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A Yes.

Q Why?

A Because they would still be operating under the terms of this — both repayment of the outstanding fees or debts or charges that had been done against them in the first place, but they also would be in a position where they wouldn't be able to retrieve their security deposit or have made enough money to be able to decide to just forfeit it.

This idea of returning but not being let go is continuing to be in service under the terms of that indenture.

Q And if that worker who had returned home for an illness who had not been paid could not receive their security deposit back, if part of their security deposit were the deed to a family member's home, would that be relevant to your analysis?

A Yes.

Q Why would that be relevant to your analysis?

A I think I mentioned this earlier, the motivating factor of something happening to someone who you care about is often

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more of a motivating factor than what you might go through,

the idea that you wouldn't let your loved one or your friend

suffer on your behalf, say by losing a home, et cetera, even

if you would basically resign yourself to your fate otherwise.

That notion of other people that we love are hostages to fortune is very much something we see when there's that kind of third-party involvement in security deposits, loans, et cetera.

- Q Do you recall defense counsel asking you a few questions about a definition related to debt bondage that I believe your testimony was that it came from a 1930s era document?
- A Yes.

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- Q Is there a -- is there any other definitions of debt bondage that you're aware of that's relevant to the U.S.
- analysis of forced labor?
  - A Well, the U.S. doesn't use the term "debt bondage" as far as forced labor in America, again, because this concept of debt bondage is very much coming out of the kind of British colonial traditions of the 19th century and we had already left the Commonwealth by that time.

So, in the United States, typically, in terms of what in the international realm would be called debt bondage get dealt with under this concept of peonage, which is the old term from the Spanish because of the expansion of the United States into Spanish territories.

716

So, while it's certainly relevant when dealing in the United Nations context and relevant as a term so that people understand it, because other countries don't understand why we use a Spanish word, it sometimes ends up being easier to use the term "debt bondage," as was done by the special rapporteur in this particular matter when she was organizing her thoughts about her inquiries around the world.

Now, her work, the way that it happens, she has to be invited in by the country. So, the country analysis that she has in this document or other types of documents necessarily have to be countries that are willing to be examined by her. And, so, her mandate, while it's global, ends up being by invitation from the particular governments.

- Q And I believe -- do you recall being asked a question on cross-examination about whether a debt has to be a real debt; do you recall that question?
- 17 A Yes.

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- Q Would you consider turning over the deed to your family's home a real debt?
- 20 A Yes.
- Q Would you consider turning over multiple years' worth of salary a real debt?
- 23 A Yes.
- Q Do you recall cross-examination questions about workers being able to call family members from abroad?

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1 A Yes.

- 2 Q Do you recall your testimony, your related testimony on
- 3 direct, about isolating workers?
- 4 A Yes.
- 5 Q Can a worker still be isolated, geographically or
- 6 otherwise, if they're able to call their family members?
- 7 A Very much so.
- 8 Q How so?
- 9 A So, again, drawing on what we see from countries around
- 10 the world as well as what happens in the United States or with
- 11 Chinese workers overseas, the fact now because of mobile
- 12 telephony, people are able to have these conversations with
- 13 folks back home.
- If they continue to be subjected to the daily
- 15 isolation, you know, picked up and dropped off between
- 16 company-provided housing and the work site and never allowed
- 17 to see people from the outside, not allowed to partake in any
- of the culturally-relevant festivals or not allowed to go down
- 19 to a cultural center or a place of worship, all of those
- 20 things continue to be isolation, on top of just the generalize
- 21 layings of being in an unfamiliar country, not knowing the
- 22 language, and maybe not even necessarily, if you're being
- driven everywhere, not knowing where you are.
- 24 All of those things are still isolation and those
- 25 | could happen even if somebody is having conversations with

don't speak too quickly, I want to make sure the court

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1 | reporter gets down everything that you have to say and that

- 2 the jury hears it; don't talk over whichever lawyer is
- 3 questioning you, let the person finish the question; and if
- 4 there's something that you need to have clarified or repeated,
- 5 let me know.
- Go ahead.
- 7 MR. SOLOMON: Thank you, your Honor.
- 8 DIRECT EXAMINATION
- 9 BY MR. SOLOMON:
- 10 Q Good afternoon, sir.
- 11 A Good afternoon.
- 12 Q Where do you work?
- 13 A At the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 14 Q What is your job title?
- 15 A I'm a special agent.
- 16 Q And how long have you been a special agent with the FBI?
- 17 A For approximately four years.
- 18 Q I'd like to direct your attention to November 10 of 2016.
- What did you do that morning?
- 20 A That morning, I assisted another squad with a search at
- 21 349 and 351 Summit Avenue in Jersey City, New Jersey.
- Q What kind of premises is 349 or 351 Summit Avenue in
- 23 Jersey City?
- 24 A They were apartment-like structures, kind of built into a
- 25 townhome-like facility.

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1 Q Were there multiple units within each of the structures?

- 2 A Yes.
- 3 Q And as part of the search, did you enter any of the
- 4 premises?
- 5 A Yes, sir.
- 6 Q Approximately how many beds were located in each of the
- 7 units?
- 8 A Approximately one to two beds, I guess, per room.
- 9 Q Per bedroom?
- 10 A Per bedroom, yes, sir.
- 11 Q And during the search, did you encounter any people who
- 12 | appeared to live in the premises?
- 13 A Yes, sir.
- 14 Q What nationality were those persons?
- 15 A They appeared to be Chinese.
- 16 Q Did these Chinese people that you encountered appear to
- 17 be mistreated in any way?
- 18 A No, sir, they did not.
- 19 Q Did you observe any evidence of overcrowding in these
- 20 premises?
- 21 A No, sir, I did not.
- 22 Q Did the premises appear to be clean?
- 23 A Yes, sir, they did.
- MR. SOLOMON: Your Honor, may I approach?
- THE COURT: Yes.

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1 MR. SOLOMON: Bringing to you what's already in evidence as Exhibits 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, and 318. I'll

direct your attention first to 311, this one here.

On the day of the search, were you the seizing

5 agent?

- 6 A Yes, sir.
- 7 Q Can you please explain to the members of the jury what
- 8 "seizing agent: means?
- 9 A To be a seizing agent means I took physical possession of
- 10 the evidence and actually transported it back to 26 Federal
- 11 Plaza, which is where our FBI offices reside.
- 12 Q Can you please open Exhibit 311?
- 13 (Exhibit published to the jury.)
- 14 Q Directing your attention first to 311-1, what is that
- 15 item?
- 16 A It appears to be a sign that we collected off of a wall.
- 17 I do not know what it states. It appears to be written in
- 18 Chinese.
- 19 Q Next I'll direct your attention to 311-2.
- What does that appear to be?
- 21 A It appears to be another Chinese paper, potentially one
- of the signs on the wall as well, with numbered sentences.
- 23 Q Did you observe similar signs to these throughout the
- units that you searched on the morning of November 10, 2016?
- 25 A Yes, sir. I actually believe they were in every unit.

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1 Q And as part of the search, did members of the FBI take

- 2 photographs of the premises?
- 3 A Yes, sir.
- 4 Q Were you present when those photographs were being taken?
- 5 A Yes, sir.
- 6 Q Prior to testifying today, have you reviewed the
- 7 | photographs that were taken of 349 and 351 Summit?
- 8 A A handful of them, yes, sir.
- 9 Q I'd like to show you what's in evidence, some photographs
- 10 from Government Exhibit 316.
- 11 (Exhibit published to the jury.)
- 12 Q Can you please explain to the members of the jury what is
- depicted in this photograph which is Bates stamped DZ60796?
- It's the third page of the exhibit.
- 15 A What you see in this photograph, you can see the deli at
- 16 the lower right. If you look at little farther to the left,
- 17 you will see what appear to be townhome-like structures with
- 18 outfacing windows. Those are 349 and 351 Summit Avenue, which
- 19 is the location where we performed our searches.
- 20 Q Those are the edifices on the left side of this
- 21 photograph that I've just circled on the screen?
- 22 A That is correct.
- Q Next, I'm showing you Page 16, which is Bates number
- 24 DZ060809.
- 25 Are these examples of signs that you saw that day?

case 11.	CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 723
1	A Yes, sir.
2	Q I observe the top one is in English language.
3	Is that one of the signs that is 311-1 or 311-2?
4	A No, sir.
5	Q How about the bottom one that appears to be in Chinese
6	language?
7	A Yes, sir, that is also collected and appears to be on
8	311-1.
9	Q Next I'll direct your attention to Page 59 of 233,
10	DZ060852.
11	What is depicted in this photograph?
12	A It appears to be a hallway in one of the residences.
13	Q I'll circle what appear to be some documents on the wall
14	on the right-hand side.
15	Do you recognize what those are?
16	A Yes, sir. Those are the same signs that we saw on almost
17	every apartment.
18	Q I'll zoom in a little bit so you can see.
19	Are the bottom two signs in Chinese language?
20	A It's difficult to tell from the photo. The one from the
21	right seems to be similar to what we saw in 311-1. The one to
22	the left appears to be the one we would see in 311-2.
23	
24	(Continued on the next page.)
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Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 137 of 166 PageID #: 5532
                       CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON
                                                                 724
 1
     BY MR. SOLOMON:
 2
     DIRECT EXAMINATION (Continued)
 3
     BY MR. SOLOMON:
          Next I'm showing you page 81.
 4
 5
                Is this another example of the signs?
                (Exhibit published.)
 6
 7
          Yes, sir.
 8
          Just a couple more. Page 82.
 9
                What does that appear to you?
10
                (Exhibit published.)
11
          That appears to be an example of one of the signs that we
12
     also saw.
1.3
          Is that 311-1 or 311-2?
14
          It's 311-2.
15
          116.
16
                What is depicted in this photograph?
17
                (Exhibit published.)
18
          The same signs. What you see is 311-1 to the left, and
19
     311-2 to your right.
20
          Page 129.
21
                What is depicted in this photograph?
22
                (Exhibit published.)
23
          The same signs; 311-2 to the left, and 311-1 to the
24
     right.
25
          Finally, 196.
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Case 1:	16-cr-0	0614-AMD	Document 252	Filed 09/09/19	Page 139 of 166 Pagel	D#: 5534
			CROWE - I	DIRECT - MR	. SOLOMON	726
1	time	and dest	inations.			
2	Q	I'll dir	ect your atte	ention now t	to the other exhibi	lts in
3	front	t of you.				
4		Car	n you please o	open Exhibit	t 312.	
5	А	Okay.				
6	Q	What is	item 312?			
7	А	Item 312	2 appears to b	oe a schedu:	le.	
8		MR.	SOLOMON: Ma	ay I approad	ch, Your Honor?	
9		THE	E COURT: Yes			
10		(Cc	ounsel approac	ches the wit	tness.)	
11		MR.	SOLOMON: Ca	an I show it	t to the jury, plea	ise?
12		THE	E COURT: Sure	∋.		
13	Q	Are ther	re multiple pa	ages of this	s document?	
14	А	Yes, sir				
15	Q	Showing	you the secon	nd page.		
16		(Ex	khibit publish	ned.)		
17		Sho	owing you the	second page	e.	
18		(Ex	khibit publish	ned.)		
19		It'	s a little w	rinkled.		
20		Sho	owing you the	third page		
21		(Ex	khibit publish	ned.)		
22		Nov	ı, just quick?	ly, sir, com	ming back to the se	econd
23	page.					
24		Are	there some	numerals you	u can read on the t	op of
25	that	document	?			

Case 1:	16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 140 of 166 PageID #: 5535
	CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 727
1	A Yeah. I see a 4 and what appears to be a year, 2012.
2	Q Correct.
3	And the next page?
4	(Exhibit published.)
5	A That one also appears to be a year, 2013.
6	Q And the last thing. The first page of the document, do
7	you see what appears to be any handwriting on the bottom of
8	the document?
9	(Exhibit published.)
10	A I do, yes, sir.
11	Q On both sides of the document?
12	A That is correct.
13	Q And I'll direct your attention to Exhibit 313.
14	(Exhibit published.)
15	A Okay.
16	Q What is inside 312?
17	A 313?
18	Q Thank you.
19	A There are copies of what appears to be visas, some ID
20	badges, and what appear to be two notebooks. One notebook and
21	one date book.
22	MR. SOLOMON: May I approach, Your Honor?
23	THE COURT: Yes.
24	(Counsel approaches the witness.)
25	MR. SOLOMON: I will take the badges and the visas

Case 1:	16-cr-0	0614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 142 of 166 PageID #: 5537
		CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 729
1	Q	And behind that, what does that document appear to be a
2	сору	of?
3		(Exhibit published.)
4	А	That happens be a copy of a passport.
5	Q	For the same individual?
6	А	Yes, sir.
7		(Exhibit published.)
8	Q	And next, can you please read the name of this
9	indi	vidual's visa?
10	А	Lian Zhang.
11	Q	And what is the annotation next to where I placed the
12	mark	on the screen?
13	А	Construction worker for Chinese Mission to U.N.
14	renov	vation project.
15	Q	And what type of visa, next to where I placed the dot?
16	А	It's an A2 visa.
17	Q	And is there a similar type of passport for this
18	indiv	vidual?
19	А	Yes, sir.
20		(Exhibit published.)
21	Q	And going back to the first visa.
22		Can you please read into the record, the annotation?
23	А	Construction worker for Chinese Mission to transformation
24	proje	ect.
25	Q	And is transformation misspelled?

Case 1:	L6-cr-0(	0614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 143 of 166 PageID #: 5538
		CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 730
1	А	Yes, sir.
2	Q	And what type of visa?
3	А	That is also an A2 visa.
4	Q	Next I'd like to direct your attention to Exhibit 314.
5	Can y	you please open that up.
6	А	Okay.
7	Q	What does it appear to be?
8	А	They appear to be copies of checks.
9		MR. SOLOMON: May I approach, Your Honor?
10		THE COURT: Yes.
11		(Counsel approaches the witness.)
12		MR. SOLOMON: May I show it to the jury?
13		THE COURT: Yes.
14		MR. SOLOMON: Showing you one page first.
15		(Exhibit published.)
16	Q	What is the amount of the check?
17	А	The amount of the check is for \$100.
18	Q	And who signed the check, as far as you can read it?
19	А	It appears to be Dan Zhong.
20	Q	And who is the payee?
21	А	The payee is NYC DOB.
22	Q	I show you the other page of checks.
23		(Exhibit published.)
24		Does the same person appear to have signed all three
25	check	cs?

Case 1:	L6-cr-0	0614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 144 of 166 PageID #: 5539
		CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 731
1	А	It is difficult to tell in the middle one, but, yes, sir.
2	Q	And are all the checks made out to the same entity, NYC
3	DOB?	
4	А	Yes, sir.
5	Q	Next I'll direct your attention to 315.
6	A	Okay.
7	Q	What appears to be inside Exhibit 315?
8	А	It appears to be more copies of visas and passports.
9	Q	Are there any actual visas or passports?
10	А	No, sir.
11	Q	Next I'll direct you or your attention to 318.
12		Well, actually, I'll momentarily retrieve 315 for
13	you.	So please take it out.
14	А	Okay.
15	Q	Thank you.
16	A	Okay.
17	Q	What is in 318?
18	А	It appears to be a copy of a visa and a copy of a
19	pass	port.
20		MR. SOLOMON: May I approach, Your Honor?
21		THE COURT: Yes.
22		(Counsel approaches the witness.)
23		MR. SOLOMON: I'd like to retrieve 315 and 318 from
24	you.	
25		THE COURT: And you can show them, if you want.

Case 1:	16-cr-0	0614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 145 of 166 PageID #: 5540			
		CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 732			
1		MR. SOLOMON: Okay. Thank you.			
2		First showing you 318.			
3		(Exhibit published.)			
4	Q	Can you please read the name of the person whose visa is			
5	depi	depicted here?			
6	А	Liang Fenglin.			
7	Q	And what's the annotation?			
8	А	Construction worker for Chinese Mission to transformation			
9	proje	ect. Again, transformation is misspelled.			
10	Q	And what type of visa?			
11	А	It is an A2 visa.			
12	Q	And that's 318.			
13		Would you agree with me that 315 contains a			
14	relat	tively large stack of photocopies of visas			
15	А	Yes, sir.			
16	Q	and passports.			
17		I'll first show you this one.			
18		Can you read the name?			
19		(Exhibit published.)			
20	А	Sui Chundong.			
21	Q	Annotation?			
22	А	Construction worker for Chinese Mission to transformation			
23	proje	ect. Again, transformation is misspelled.			
24	Q	And type of visa?			
25	А	A2 visa.			

Case 1:16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 146 of 166 PageID #: 5541							
		CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 733					
1	Q	Next I'll direct your attention to this person's visa.					
2		(Exhibit published.)					
3		Can you please read the name?					
4	А	Wang Yuliang.					
5	Q	And what's the annotation?					
6	А	Construction worker for Chinese Mission to U.N.					
7	renovation project.						
8	Q	What's the name of the company under that project?					
9	А	China Rilin Construction Group Company Limited.					
10	Q	Q By the way, would you agree with me that these are					
11	relatively high-quality photographs or copies?						
12	А	Yes, sir.					
13	Q	Next, who is depicted in this copy?					
14	(Exhibit published.)						
15	А	Zhang Guoquing.					
16	Q	And what's the annotation?					
17	А	Construction worker for China Mission to U.N. renovation					
18	project.						
19	Q	Is it also with the China Rilin Construction Group?					
20	А	Yes, sir.					
21	Q	What type of visa?					
22	А	It's a G2 visa.					
23	Q	Next, who is depicted in this photograph?					
24		(Exhibit published.)					
25	А	Zhang Baoan.					

Case 1:16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 148 of 166 PageID #: 5543							
		CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 735					
1	Q	What type of visa, please?					
2	А	That is a G2 visa.					
3	Q	What is the name on this visa?					
4		(Exhibit published.)					
5	А	Wang Xingshi.					
6	Q	And what is the annotation?					
7	А	A Construction worker for Chinese Mission to U.N.					
8	renovation project.						
9	Q	Q And is it also "China Rilin"?					
10	А	Yes, that's correct.					
11	Q	Q What type of visa?					
12	А	That's an A2 visa.					
13	Q	What's the name on this visa?					
14		(Exhibit published.)					
15	А	Wang Jun.					
16	Q	And what's the annotation, please?					
17	А	Construction worker for China Mission to U.N. renovation					
18	project. Also with the China Rilin Construction Group.						
19	Q	And the type of visa?					
20	А	That is a G2 visa.					
21	Q	What's the name on this visa? We're almost done.					
22		(Exhibit published.)					
23	А	Wang Xiaojun.					
24	Q	And the annotation, please.					
25	A	Construction worker for China Mission to U.N. renovation					

Case 1:16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 149 of 166 PageID #: 5544						
	CROWE - DIRECT - MR. SOLOMON 736					
1	project.					
2	Also with the China Rilin Construction Group.					
3	And it is a G2 visa.					
4	Q Okay. Who's on this visa?					
5	(Exhibit published.)					
6	A Chen Yan Kui.					
7	Annotation states that it is a construction project					
8	of new embassy complex. And it is an A2 visa.					
9	Q Who's on this visa?					
10	(Exhibit published.)					
11	A Yu Lei.					
12	Q What type of annotation?					
13	A Construction project of new Chinese embassy in Washington					
14	DC.					
15	The type of visa is an A2.					
16	Q And lastly, this visa. What's the name?					
17	(Exhibit published.)					
18	A Shan Qingdong.					
19	The annotation states construction worker for					
20	Chinese Mission to U.N. renovation project.					
21	It appears to be for the China Rilin Construction					
22	Group. And the type of visa is an A2.					
23	Q Now, sir, did you find any actual passports or actual					
24	visas during your search of 349 or 351 Summit?					
25	A No, sir, not to my recollection.					

- 21 A My role was to assist with the search and take physical
- 22 possession of some of the evidence in order to transport it
- 23 back to 26 Federal Plaza.
- 24 Q And the written record was kept of that evidence that
- 25 were seized, correct?

- 21 buildings, correct?
- 22 A Yes, sir.
- 23 Q And the agents were able to access every room within each
- of those apartments. Am I correct about that?
- 25 A Yes, sir.

CROWE - CROSS - MR. CLEARY

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- 1 A No, sir.
- 2 Q I want to take a couple of photographs, representative
- 3 examples of photographs of the search location.
- Is there any way -- if I show you photographs of
- 5 different bedrooms, is there any way you can tell us which
- 6 apartment that is or at least which building it is?
- 7 A To be honest, it's been about two-and-a-half years. It
- 8 would be very difficult but we can give it a shot.
- 9 Q Okay. I don't want to press you on it, but you don't
- 10 have a schedule that would show by the numbers we have on
- 11 these, the Bates numbers, that would show which apartment
- 12 building the photograph is from?
- 13 A Not in front of me. I don't believe so.
- 14 Q Okay. We can -- we don't have to worry about that then.
- I'm going to show you now what I believe is a photo
- of apartment -- in 351, Apartment 3R. And it's Exhibit 316,
- 17 page number DZ060848.
- 18 (Exhibit published.)
- 19 Q Look like one of the bedrooms that you guys searched?
- I'm sorry, one of the living rooms, common area
- 21 living rooms?
- 22 A Looks like the common area, yes, sir.
- 23 Q Table and chairs and a plant in the middle, right?
- 24 A That is correct.
- 25 Q And do you see the fishing net off to the right-hand side

## Case 1:16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252 Filed 09/09/19 Page 160 of 166 PageID #: 5559 CROWE - CROSS - MR. CLEARY 747 1 believe is 349, a few of those and I'll be finished. 2 These were fully-furnished apartments in 349, just 3 like they were in 351, correct? 4 I believe so, yes, sir. 5 And with fully-furnished kitchens like we see in this 6 photograph here, which is Exhibit 316, DZ60908. 7 (Exhibit published.) 8 See if I can get this. There we go. 9 Example of one of the kitchens in 3 -- 349 Summit, 10 right? 11 Yes, sir. 12 And you see the plant there, some food, and a big bottle 1.3 of vodka, right? 14 Yes, sir. 15 Okay. And there were some bicycles in this building 16 also; weren't there? 17 I don't recall. 18 You do not recall? No, sir. 19 Α 20 Okay. This is a photo I'm going to show you, 21 Exhibit 316, page DZ60907. 22 (Exhibit published.) 23 Photo of some more bicycles, different from the ones 24 we saw before in 351, correct? 25 Yes, sir, that is correct.

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Do not look anything up on the internet about anything having to do with this case. I'm sure you have things that can occupy your weekend that don't involve this trial.

So please enjoy your weekend. Relax. Think of something else. And I will see you back here on Monday morning at 9:30.

As I told you yesterday, we're moving along very efficiently. So -- so and part of that is because you all are so prompt about being here on time, and I'm glad we can count on you.

So do enjoy your weekend, and I'll see you Monday.

THE COURTROOM DEPUTY: All rise.

(Jury exits the courtroom.)

THE COURT: Okay, everybody, you can sit down.

Everybody have a good weekend.

I just want to get a sense -- I have another proceeding that I have to handle here in a little bit.

What's our kind of rough estimate of how many more witnesses you have?

MR. SOLOMON: I can't say exactly how many witnesses. I think we have approximately a week left, or maybe a little bit more than a week.

THE COURT: Okay.

And, remember, we're off on Wednesday.

All right. Anything else that we have to -
MR. CLEARY: I'd like to follow up on what you just

3 asked.

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If the government has about 30 witnesses on their witness list, I gather from what they just said they're not calling all of those.

I think it would be helpful if they can give us some notice as to who they're not calling, or at least unlikely to call, so we don't have to the spend time preparing 30 cross-examinations.

MR. SOLOMON: We agree, Your Honor. We're going to make an effort over the weekend to figure out who we're calling and who we're not calling.

We told defense counsel who we're calling on Monday and Tuesday.

I can say that we are making efforts to streamline this. We will be cutting some people.

THE COURT: Okay. Great. And if there's anybody you can tell them now that you're definitely not calling, do that.

MR. SOLOMON: Sure.

MR. CLEARY: In terms of what they told us for Monday, Tuesday, one of them they just defined -- described as one of the victims. We don't know who that person is. I'd like to know who that person is.

Case 1:	16-cr-00614-AMD Document 252	Filed 09/09/19	Page 166 of 166 Page	HD #: 5561						
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1		I N D E X								
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